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## College and School News

The board of trustees of the A. M. AND N.  
COLLEGE unanimously re-elected President L.  
A. Davis for another year on March 15.

Forty-eight SHAW UNIVERSITY students  
were included on the university's honor roll  
of students who made averages of "B" or  
higher in their entire programs for the first  
semester 1943-44. Miss Dorothy Cheek, a  
Sophomore student from Henderson, led the  
entire school in scholarships by earning all  
"A" grades. She has held an "A" average  
for each of the three semesters of her at-  
tendance.

The 18th annual meeting of the NATIONAL  
ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE DEANS AND REGIS-  
TARS IN NEGRO SCHOOLS was held March 29-30  
and 31 at WINSTON-SALEM TEACHERS COL-  
LEGE, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE has re-  
ceived a citation from the U. S. Treasury De-  
partment "for the outstanding record made  
by the college during the Fourth War Loan  
campaign."

Professor Daniel P. Lincoln (History), a  
member of the West Virginia War History  
Commission, has been designated collector  
and wartime historian for the college.

A Recreation Institute and Workshop was  
held at NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE March 21-  
April 1, sponsored by the North Carolina  
Recreation Committee of the college. Top-  
ics discussed included safety in recreation,  
problems of youth, recreation leadership,  
recreational facilities, plans for recreation in  
North Carolina, recreation for adults, and  
recreation in relation to the church, the fam-  
ily, industrial war workers, and men in the  
armed forces.

DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE held a one-day  
conference March 18 on problems of ef-  
fective farm living for the present and the  
future. More than 200 farm men and women  
were in attendance. Distinguished speakers  
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J. Saunders Redding, assistant professor of English at HAMPTON INSTITUTE, has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1944-45 to write a novel of Negro life revealing the peculiar relationship of the middle-class Negro to his complex environment.

Dr. B. A. Turner, supervisor of instruction, division of trades and industry, was elected president of the old Dominion Vocational Association at its recent annual meeting in Roanoke.

Competitive art scholarships for the year 1944-45 have been announced. Hampton will award two scholarships of \$300 each or three scholarships of \$200 each to students of exceptional ability seeking to study in its art department next year. Final date for submitting entries is May 10.

Hampton Institute summer school will open on June 20 and continue until August 18. In addition to the regular 9-week term, the summer school will provide a 6-week term from June 20 to July 28 and a workshop period from July 10 to August 18.

H. Hamilton Williams, head of the department of ornamental horticulture, has completed all requirements for the Ph.D. degree in ornamental horticulture at Cornell University where he will receive his doctorate at the June commencement.

On March 2, 1944 HOWARD UNIVERSITY celebrated its 77th anniversary with a morning's program at which time alumni awards for distinguished post graduate achievements were made to Lillian Evanti in music, W. Lincoln Hawkins in chemistry and Thurgood Marshall in law.

On March 17 the 75th Annual Commencement—Winter Convocation—was held in the gymnasium, at which time 46 seniors in medicine, 25 in dentistry, and 2 in pharmacy were graduated.

Howard now has the largest enrollment in its history.

Fifteen thousand high school seniors took the Westinghouse science examination, of that number Nancy Durant of Alexandria, Virginia, student of the DUNBAR HIGH SCHOOL, was one of the final winners of a \$400 scholarship. She is now a Howard freshman.

The school of music was accepted without qualification as an associate member of the National Association of Schools of Music at its annual meeting in Cincinnati. The NASM is the only recognized accrediting body, and Howard is the first Negro music school to be admitted to membership.

At ATLANTA UNIVERSITY'S 3rd annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture and prints by Negro artists which opened on April 2, the winner of the top award (\$300) went to John Farrar, 16 year old artist of New York City for his painting in oil entitled "Queenie." The coveted John Hope award of \$250 for

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the best landscape was won by Sgt. Ceril D. Nelson, Jr., of Tuskegee, Alabama; and the first Atlanta University award in oil of \$150 was won by John Wilson of Boston, Massachusetts. Honorable mention went to Romare Bearden of New York.

President E. C. McLeod of WILEY COLLEGE has been appointed a member of the executive committee of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND campaign which is attempting to raise a million and a half dollars for the operation and maintenance of 27 institutions.

A school of methods for town and rural pastors was held at Wiley March 13-17 by the Board of Missions and Church Extensions.

The College of education of WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY was accredited by the American Association of Teachers Colleges in March. This was the second accreditation attained by Wilberforce within a period of two years, the first one being the removal in 1943 of the probationary accreditation granted by the North Central Association of Colleges in 1939.

Dr. William Lloyd Imes, President of KNOXVILLE COLLEGE, has been asked by the United Negro College Campaign to be one of three college presidents to cooperate with the New York area in the intensive campaign ending this month.

SPELMAN COLLEGE observed its 63rd anniversary on April 11. The Founder's Day address was delivered by President Albert W. Dent of DILLARD UNIVERSITY. Miss Florence M. Reid has been president since 1927.

In the week March 27-April 1 LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) was the scene of two conferences: The School for Town and Country Ministers and The Farmers' Conferences.

"The Knockout" a lithograph by James D. Parks, head of the department of art, won for him mention in the St. Louis Artists' Guild Black and White Show. Mr. Parks was the only Negro representative in the contest.

Sgt. Raymond Hill, a SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY alumnus and outstanding athlete, has sent back to his alma mater a Japanese rifle, shells, mess kit, canteen, and other articles from Southwest Pacific.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. has pledged a whole hearted support to the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND DRIVE and accepted the chairmanship of the national advisory committee of the fund. Walter Hoving, New York merch-

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a bitter melody.

—a song my father worked nights and  
studied days after emancipation to gain  
a chance to sing

—a song my grandfather chanted when he  
aided black Harriet Tubman whisk slaves  
away from the plantation

—a song my great grandfather, with hot  
tears streaming down his black cheeks,  
sang when his mother was sold on the  
auction block

—a song my great great grandfather  
wailed when angry lashes struck down  
his prostrate form on the shores of  
America in 1619

—a song my great great great grandfather  
moaned back in the dark depths of  
Africa when he saw first cruel slave  
traders

I sing the protesting song—

a bitter melody.

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### COVER

Miss Naomi Patterson of Jamaica, L. I., is at present a student of photography in New York City.

### NEXT MONTH

In June *The Crisis* begins a series of four articles on "What the Negro Soldier Thinks"—About . . . The Global War, The War Department, The Home Front, and The Post War World. This series is by Captain Grant Reynolds, a chaplain in the U. S. Army, recently retired. A graduate of Eden Lutheran Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., Chaplain Reynolds is its first and only Negro graduate. He is a former pastor of the Mt. Zion Congregational Church, Cleveland, Ohio, and a former president of the Cleveland branch of the NAACP. He has served as chaplain at Camp Lee, Va., Camp Custer, Mich., Fort Devens, Mass., Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and at San Luis Obispo, Calif. This gives him a wide range of experience and authority to speak on what the Negro soldier thinks. Chester B. Himes also promises another one of his searching short stories.

### OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Most of the features of this issue comprise a Philadelphia, Pa., section, saluting both the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP and the general conference of the AME Church which convenes there in May.

Saville R. Davis is assistant editor of *The Christian Science Monitor*. Chester B. Himes, who lives in California, is already familiar to *Crisis* readers. Florence McDowell lives in New York City.



# Editorials

## Time for Statesmanship

IN the comment from Deep South daily papers on the Supreme Court's opinion that Texas may not bar Negroes from participation in Democratic primary elections appears the following sane pronouncement in the *Dallas Morning News*:

"Some Southern leaders are quoted as thinking that the Southern Democratic party can disengage itself from the position in which it finds itself by retreating to the old convention system. . . . But a return to the convention system merely as a means of evading the present decision would be pursuing the old course of evasion and expediency that has brought the South to its present difficulties in the whole matter of the Negro problem.

"Whatever Southern Democracy may do to evade, or extricate itself from, the current decision, the court's ruling will have profound effect. We might as well accept it as a warning. It is time for us in the South to take our problems into our own hands and solve them in a constructive way.

"Most white Southern people see social segregation as the working basis for a solution . . . the way for Southern white people to maintain segregation—and one very effective way to aid in preserving States' rights which in considerable degree has come to be tied up with the Negro problem—is to see that the Southern Negroes have economic and political justice—justice under their plain, constitutional guarantees. This course is not only the practical one for white Southern people; it is the course of democracy and moral duty."

Negroes need not agree that segregation is the "working basis for a solution" in order to acclaim this editorial as statesmanlike thinking in the welter of emotion and hysteria which greeted the Supreme Court opinion in many parts of the South.

The obligation always has been upon the South to approach the difficult problem of the races with intelligence, courage, and fairness. Instead of this approach, the South has chosen, as *The News* well says, to pursue "the old course of evasion and expediency." But the South has done more than evade and be expedient. It has set up positive controls, a sort of super-government of its own, and a super moral law, all of which it has sought to justify (as against Constitutional guarantees) on the ground that Negroes were a menace, and as such, were without the pale of Constitutional protection.

A succession of Supreme Court decisions and the onrush of civilization have driven the southern die-hards steadily into fiercely-defended, but fantastic isolation, throwing into cruel and ugly relief the philosophy and devices of their segment. No more devastating picture of this clique could be painted by the most rabid Negro extremist than that presented by the clique itself in the naked public statements issued after the court had

spoken. In shrill, uncamouflaged language they sound the tocsin for hatred, division and the status quo. In a world at war for freedom, they scream for slavery.

But the time for this (if there ever was a time) is past. Now is the time for statesmanship. Negroes, again to quote *The News*, "are with us today; they will be with us for centuries to come." As the shouting and the cursing dies down in Dixie there will emerge, inevitably, quiet but firm attempts to stem the tide of progress and keep Negroes still from the ballot box. But there will also emerge—indeed, there are evidences of it already—an influential and growing opinion in step with the sober reasoning of the *Dallas Morning News*, rather than the outrageous indecencies of, say, the Jackson, Miss., *Daily News*. The South's old position is untenable. A new day is coming, the Maybanks, Rankins and Bilbos notwithstanding. For the sake of the Negroes, the whites, and democracy itself the South should take the lead in shaping that new day.

## FEPC Again

IT is expected that during May the budget for the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) will come up in the House and later in the Senate. The amount asked by the agency is \$585,000 to run it from July 1, 1944 to June 30, 1945. A sub-committee of the House Appropriations committee has held a hearing on the request and both it and the whole committee are said to be in favor of approving the amount. There is no certainty that the House will approve the budget without a fight.

If the budget for FEPC is to pass the House, supporters must write their Congressmen urging them to vote for it. FEPC can be killed off in one afternoon by the simple action of failing to vote funds for it. If FEPC fails to get funds it will mean that Negro Americans, already under great handicaps in getting employment, will face the tough post-war competition for jobs without any moral backing from the government. Write your Congressmen and Senators to vote for a budget for FEPC.

## From Fighters to Laborers

THERE has been much to discourage and dismay Negro Americans in this war, but nothing has struck them as hard as the admission by the War department that the famous Negro cavalry regiments, the Ninth and Tenth, have been converted into labor battalions.

These units have a long and glorious record in the Regular army as fighting elements, having begun their service immediately after the Civil War. They fought the Indians,

did border patrol work, chased Villa in 1916, served with distinction in various Pacific posts. The Tenth saved Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders at San Juan hill in the Spanish-American war when the colorful but inexperienced white unit was in danger of isolation and annihilation.

For some mysterious reason, not yet revealed, these regiments were not used in the first World war. In this war the Ninth was trained as a combat unit at Ft. Riley, Kansas. The Tenth was stationed here and there, but finally was brought together with the Ninth and other units at Ft. Clark, Tex., and trained as the Second Cavalry division.

All of a sudden the combat training was halted, the division was broken up and its men assigned to labor work. Meanwhile the First Cavalry division, composed of white troops, had been sent to the Pacific and had won a name for itself in the capture of the Admiralty islands. Secretary of War Stimson, in breaking the news of the conversion of the Ninth and Tenth, uses the following language:

"... the War Department recently was called upon to provide certain additional service units to meet an early requirement of the highest importance. Unfortunately currently constituted service units were all committed to definite tasks . . . the short time available . . . made it imperative to utilize previously trained personnel . . . the only available source for such personnel was certain uncommitted combat units, including the Second Cavalry division. No definite commitment for a cavalry division could be foreseen and uncommitted combat units other than the Second Cavalry division were being employed for the further training of personnel as replacements and to implement rotational policies."

The italics are ours. They illustrate the workings of the Army policy of segregation. One cavalry division (white) already was in service. For the second (Negro) no commitment "could be foreseen," that is, there was no work for them as a cavalry division. And, since they were Negroes, they could not be assigned "for the further training of personnel as replacements, etc." because these replacements for combat units apparently would be white, and if not all white, they would not be cavalry units.

Thus, for all practical purposes, the fact that the army inducts and trains men on a segregated basis has caused the reduction of proud, veteran units of fighters to laborers, and, conversely, has insured the use of a greater proportion of white men for combat duty than might have been true without segregation.

No matter what Mr. Stimson may try to say (and he has issued a feeble statement recently to the press) the conversion of the Ninth and Tenth cavalry units to labor battalions is but one more proof that the army intends for Negroes to serve principally as service troops.

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## I Congratulate

the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the far-reaching influence that it has wielded in the interest of our race on the home front. I heartily recommend that every person who is interested in the cause of justice for all people will co-operate fully with that program.

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# Philadelphia's Unfinished Business

By Arthur Huff Fausett

**W**ILLIAM PENN started "something" when he founded Philadelphia. To that original effort Franklin added undying lustre. But today it must be admitted, regretfully, that the Quaker City reflects little of brotherly love, and as a great center the extent of its decline is more significant perhaps than any of its past achievements.



Arthur Huff Fausett,  
Principal Douglass  
High School & presi-  
dent United Peoples  
Action Committee.

We may as well state the facts. Few people any longer have a passion for Philadelphia; visitors eternally castigate the city; natives do nothing about the matter. The heart of the problem lies here: Present day Philadelphians must set out to complete the job which Penn and Franklin began. They can. Unless they do this before it is too late, the "cradle of liberty," which today should be ranking with Moscow and Teheran in significance as a fortress of democracy, is destined to go the way of Pompeii and Athens. And we Negroes, nearly 300,000 strong, cannot escape some of the blame.

Did I say some of the blame? Much of it in fact. The Negroes of Philadelphia are a tremendous force. Economically they represent tens of millions of dollars annually. Socially they help to establish the city as top-notch or third rate. Politically they are the balance of power. Up to now they have not chosen to exercise that power, and there are reasons for this in the form of wicked leaders and poor politicians. But they can; they must; and they will.

## A Leaf of History

Take this example. In 1919, J. Hampton Moore, reformed Republican, was fighting the Republican machine to become mayor of the city. (Philadelphia has had only *Republican* mayors for more than half a century!) A Negro ward politician, Amos Scott, had been slated for magistrate by the Republican machine. Only a crumb, but at the last minute the vicious Vare political bosses swept away even this measly crumb. The word was passed out on election day, "Cut Scott!" Scott was due to lose and he did lose.

But the word breezed round among the Negro electorate, in those days almost solidly behind the machine. These unorganized hum-

***A brilliant resume of Philadelphia's past history and her unrealized potentialities. Rich in tradition and achievement, the city is now "dying a living death," says this author, but only because she has such few real leaders***

ble folk developed their own swift rebellion, and that evening when the votes were counted, the machine was licked. The margin of victory in a city of 2,000,000 people was less than 2,000 votes. One thousand protesting Negroes had deprived the machine of a political plum worth tens of millions of dollars in graft and boodle!

That was negative power. Such a demonstration is not sufficient. It is symbolic of present day Philadelphia, which in many ways plays a negative role in current American affairs. Where once this center was the soil from which sprang such documents as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, it now harbors counter-democratic influences and cliques of individuals whose ruling members own huge ship-yards and oil wells, and out of whose mouths all too frequently emerge cries of Peace Now, Damn Roosevelt, Keep Negroes in Ghettos, Praise Be to the Company Union, and the Republican Party (the Reactionary Republican Party, if you please) Forever!

Shades of Penn and of Franklin! These were no negativists. Always they prescribed and practiced positive action. A clean city! A beautiful city! An enticing city! A cultured city! A city of freedom, of art and the sciences! A city where men might dwell in love one with the other, and plan together how they might be free, responsible, respectful, law-abiding and creative!

It is our job, the job of 300,000 Negroes in Philadelphia, to help revive this heritage. Philadelphians are citizens of no mean city. The world purchases from its shops. The world sends students to its schools. The world still harks back to 1776 and 1787, Philadelphia at its highest and mightiest. Penn and Franklin would have their city go still further! There must be no turning back!

## Politics and Civil Liberties

The first unfinished task therefore is to rid Philadelphia of the political incubus. New York City, they say, is as graft ridden as Philadelphia, but New Yorkers do get

something for the graft they pay. In the era of Teheran, however, this too is not satisfactory. We must be rid completely of grafters. Out particularly with the political plunderbund which by its rapacity has made democracy in Philadelphia a mockery and a shame!

Negroes can make Philadelphia a two-party city. Fifty years are too long for single party rule. Negroes cannot wield their balance of power as long as they collaborate in single party domination. We must have a congressman, a judge (why not several?), vocal spokesmen in the City Council, state House and state Senate, representatives in important row offices, and a reasonable share of patronage which is the perquisite of American political activity. As for civil liberties, the Pennsylvania Civil Rights Bill should be implemented by a similar statute on the books of the Philadelphia City Council, so that in the Quaker City there can be no question about the equal rights of Negroes wherever their civil liberties are involved.

These all will come when Philadelphia Negroes use their voting strength not according to the principles of machine politics, but in conformity with that new Declaration of Political Independence sounded by twenty national organizations a short while ago at the call of the NAACP.

"Handkerchief-head" political leaders, who sell the rights of the people for a mess of pottage, must go. Wise, intelligent political leaders, leaders who love the masses and who are sympathetic with their aspirations, must be developed and encouraged. These leaders must bring about the education of the nearly 150,000 Negro voters, and additional white voters, insisting upon a maximum of registration, enlightening them as to the power and meaning of the ballot, and eliminating those segments of the voting population whose prerogative of the franchise is exploited by venal interests for their personal gain.

Negroes can make Philadelphia a significant city politically!

## Housing

Once it could be said that Philadelphia was the city of homes. Today it would be more nearly correct to point to it as the city of slums. Most of Philadelphia's Negro population dwell in sub-standard homes, slums of the worst character. The real estate interests do all in their power to shunt Negroes

into ghettos, and by silent agreements to keep them from procuring desirable living quarters. Finish Penn's work! Eliminate these slum practices!

Government housing would seem to be the answer. Yet the politicians actually turned down \$20,000,000 of government money which was to relieve the housing situation. Whose fault was that? Does not much of the fault lie with Negro leadership which too often is craven and inept, unable to rally the masses, black and white, to a cause which not only is urgent and just, but which furthers our immediate best interests?

Negroes could be the means of providing improved housing not only for themselves, but for many others as well. They can promote the improvement of housing conditions generally throughout the city, improvements in the landscaping of the city, and in social relations between the races in their residential areas.

For, in new housing, particularly in government housing, probably lies the key to democratic living conditions in our metropolitan cities. It is possible in Philadelphia to provide government housing where Negroes and whites in the lower income brackets can live side by side, and even in the same dwellings with each other under most salutary conditions. Is not this what Penn would have wished? Would the urbane Franklin have demanded anything less?

Whether or not tens of millions of government dollars revert to Philadelphia for housing and slum clearance depends largely on Negro enterprise and insistence, particularly the insistence of Negro leaders.

### The Church

Philadelphia is also known as the city of churches. For Negroes this has a tender significance, for are not Richard Allen and Absalom Jones Philadelphia's very own! What stalwart independents these were! Upon this rock—!

A crumbling rock? Certainly the quality of church influence too often today is suspect. No powerful voice emanates from this church like that of the late lamented Grimké of Washington, or for that matter like that of the impetuous, eagerly sought by the masses, young Powell of Abyssinian fame. Where we should have religious statesmen, true leaders of the masses, all too often we observe piddling and meddlesome politicians, trafficking with the bodies of their parishioners while completely neglecting their souls. One well-known prelate is the mouthpiece for the most reactionary national leaders of the Republican Party; others are equally articulate in petty partisan ways for the Democratic Party. The masses suffer; they are disillusioned; they lose faith in their church as well as in politicians. Philadelphia needs to revive the mantels of Allen and Absalom Jones. We need a spiritual awakening!

Franklin's ideas centered around the youth. The great University of Pennsylvania is a tribute to his vision in youth's behalf. Con-

tinue his work! Wholesome recreation for our boys and girls. Community houses and teen-age canteens. Scholarships, opportunities for travel and for meeting outstanding characters; interesting lectures and forums, interracial festivals and outings,—and above all a continually expanding relationship with industrial leaders in order that jobs may not go a-begging merely because the applicants are Negroes.

### Education

There still are schools in Philadelphia which deny admittance to Negroes. Think what a democratic beacon Girard College would be, with its nearly \$100,000,000 endowment, if it fostered race equality instead of Nordic superiority!

The public schools, alas! are none too far in the advance. Jim Crow practices exist far too frequently both among pupils and trained personnel. To my knowledge the University of Pennsylvania never has had a Negro football player. There is much to be done!

Philadelphia Negroes should encourage workers' schools like the Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art. Here they may attend freely and at low cost; here also they may teach freely in any and all fields. More such schools, attended by thousands from both races, will have a determining influence in breaking down educational and other forms of jim-crow.

However, the schools are not made for or against Negroes; they are made what they are in part by us. We have a job to do in supporting them financially, in fighting for their liberation from southern-inspired creed and practice, and in helping to extend the realm of education to all people from the cradle to the grave. This too is Franklin!

### Uplift Organizations

In a community of 300,000 souls, there cannot be too many genuine uplift organizations. Nevertheless the attitude prevails with some that social uplift is the prerogative of the few, or is even the vested interest of certain established organizations. This not only is a myth—it is harmful to the general good.

More power to the NAACP and the National Urban League, but more power also to the North Philadelphia Youth Civic League, the West Philadelphia Youth Civic League, The United Peoples' Action Committee (UPAC), and to many similar organizations. The "red" bogey needs also to be laid low. A favorite device of the "powers," including the press, is to brand any truly aggressive organization or leader among Negroes as "red" in order to frighten away followers. Some Negro leaders are guilty of collaborating in these schemes, thereby adding to the confusion of the masses. Let freedom ring! The Negro masses are not afraid of Stalin, Roosevelt, or the Communist Party!

Come to Philadelphia if you have a good idea for social uplift! The field is very

fertile; the harvest is far from ripe; the workers are all too few!

### Employment and Private Enterprise

Ah, there's the rub!

Recently when intelligent, refined Negro workers sought to ease the burden of the transportation corporation in its quest for motormen and conductors, the company and company-union officials connived in every conceivable manner to keep them out. They even went to the infamous Smith Committee in Washington and complained that Negroes should not be permitted to drive trolley cars because they have syphilis!

The 5 and 10 cent and department stores almost invariably refuse to hire Negro salespersons. The public school system is quite jim-crow in its hiring practices. The public utilities shun Negro employees except as menials; while even the city departments offer Negroes only a bare handful of jobs above the subsistence level of remuneration. (The strike of 3,000 street cleaners and garbage workers recently was largely a battle between the city and Negro employees below the subsistence level.)

Penn and Franklin again—their work be done! How can any people emerge above the level of their economic potentialities? Negroes must join the trade unions, particularly the CIO, attend union meetings, help make these organizations powerful and progressive. Sun Ship must be thoroughly organized; so also Budd's; by the time this article appears the transportation situation ought to be much improved. (The TWU and NAACP Action Committee are seeing to this.) Workers' Councils, Action Committees, Cooperatives, intelligent group leadership in business, all are necessary in order to effect fundamental changes in these employment conditions.

Here a word should be added about Negro business. The city is far behind New York and Chicago in the quality and character of the enterprises which serve the bulk of the needs of the Negro people. Negro business men with broad visions and experience in modern business methods are all too few. The example of Lenerte Roberts, realtor, who conducts a splendidly appointed office in West Philadelphia as well as on upper Broadway, New York City, might well be followed by Negro business men on Ridge avenue, South street, and other commercial thoroughfares.

Employment and private enterprise—the most important economic factors in our capitalistic society—and much unfinished business!

### In Conclusion: Post War

Said Voltaire: So much to do! So little time to do it!

Such a huge city; so few real workers (leaders); such a magnificent opportunity!

I am a Philadelphian. I belong to that much (but properly) maligned group known

(Continued on page 147)



# So Philadelphia Is Sleepy, Eh?

By Ralph H. Jones

**R**OI OTTLEY'S "New World A-Coming" was certainly a thought-provoking tome but unfortunately it, like the stated boundaries set down by the Dutch settlers of Little Old New York, barely spilled over the lineal bounds and meets of Gay Gotham.

About ninety miles southeast of the town that could be called an empire is a sleepy little village of two million souls. New Yorkers condescendingly pronounce its Quaker name, Philadelphia. Within its metropolitan environs live approximately 300,000 Negroes. New Yorkers have said they are sleepy, backward, don't know the angles or the time of day and in most respects measure up to the "hick" reputation tabbed them by the rest of the east.

Several times this writer has uncomfortably dragged through meetings where New York men like Dr. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., have soundly castigated the lethargic characteristics supposedly symbolic of Philadelphians. As these insults cascaded upon my eardrums I could not help but make mental comparisons of Negro Philadelphia and Negro New York.

What other city in the nation sends five men to the state legislature? What other city gave birth to so great a religious force as the African Methodist Episcopal Church? What other city can offer so solid a phalanx of fraternalists as Philadelphia? What other city north of the Mason-Dixie line can boast of a Negro-owned and controlled bank and trust company that lived through the depression, with assets of two million dollars? What other city, including New York, can show that its citizens are supporting by patronage two large metropolitan Negro weeklies and two national weekly journals—with profit to both city and publications? What other city can successfully compare its several constructive YM and YWCA's and men's Pyramid Club?

Has New York ever produced a Marian Anderson? Philadelphia has. She does not stand alone in the artistic world for Carl Diton, Joseph Lockett, and William L. King, pianists; F. A. Clark, authority on church music, composer and musician; Dr. W. Franklin Hoxter, organist, have all earned musical names for themselves that need not be sneered at or taken lightly. In belle lettres, Dr. Alain LeRoy Locke leads the Philadelphia production parade. Dr. Alan Freelon, the artist, Dr. Arthur Huff Fausett and Jessie Fausett Harris, both writers and authors, and Henry B. Jones, an accomplished artist in oils as well as a writer, are preeminent. Dox Thrash won an international reputation for himself

***Gothamites look upon Philadelphia as a sleepy, backward town; but it is not as sleepy as "smart New Yorkers" think. Its contributions to Negro life are many and solid, many of them out-rivaling the oft touted achievements of Harlem***

when he perfected the carborundum method for lithography. Would a Philadelphian have to tell New Yorkers of the fame of Meta Warrick Fuller as a sculptress and painter?

Gothamites boast of its businesses but can it point out a Citizen's & Southern Bank & Trust Company with assets of 2 million? Can it say its president, Major R. R. Wright, Sr., father of a bishop, secured the first U. S. postage stamps issued in honor of Negroes, and is now laying the groundwork for the national observance of a legal National Freedom Day?

## Philadelphians Politically

Politically, Philadelphians are said by New Yorkers to be just turning over for a second nap. Well, while they are snoring they can tell the crowd from Hot Harlem that James H. Irvin is a City Councilman, Attorney Herbert E. Millin is the assistant director of Public Safety—a position of authority over the 4,200 police and firemen of the city. Ernest T. Wright for several years has been a deputy recorder of deeds at \$6,000 per annum, while for a number of years, too, Attorney J. Austin Norris has been a \$10,000 a year member of the Board of Revision of Taxes. Both jobs carry high responsibility. Incidentally, Wright is a Republican, Norris a Democrat.

While Quakertownians cannot boast of all the fire and police officers that New Yorkers can, there nevertheless are found two fire captains, Peter Graham, of the training school, and James Davis (Co. 11); two fire lieutenants, Joseph Singleton and James Marshall; one detective sergeant, Richard Anderson (uncle of Marian Anderson); and one police sergeant, Robert Forgy.

Until the last municipal election there were only two Negro magistrates in Philadelphia, Edward W. Henry and Joseph H. Rainey. Both political parties placed a Negro candidate in the field for the Rainey re-election contest. Negroes, and their white friends, elected Hobson R. Reynolds as the GOP majority Negro candidate and returned

Rainey, at the head of the minority Democratic minor judiciary slate. Three magistrates now serve.

Dr. John P. Turner is not only the lone Negro member of the Board of Education, but a police surgeon as well. Tanner G. Duckrey is special assistant to the Board of Superintendence of the Philadelphia School system. Alan Freelon holds a similar job in the art department of the system.

## Philadelphians Fraternally

Fraternally, Philadelphia is the capitol of Elldom. Its four major lodges and temples, O. V. Catto, Quaker City, Christopher J. Perry and Leonard C. Irvin, all compare favorably in influence and outshine in importance Gotham's famed Mity Monarch. There are several other smaller Elk lodges in Philadelphia. Catto's (16th and Fitzwater streets) clubhouse with its spacious auditorium, athletic court, barroom and downstairs grill, is the most magnificent in America—and is free of debt. The Perry lodge has just purchased a clubhouse on North Broad street that will come mighty close to approaching the Catto-erected edifice.

The Mason's Scottish Rite Cathedral, Fitzwater and Mole streets, and the Grand United Order of Oddfellows building, 12th and Locust streets, compete a rather splendid picture for fraternal "Sleepytown."

## Home Ownership

Without a doubt more Negroes own homes in Philadelphia than in any other city. Numerous building and loan associations can take the credit for this and the Berean and the East Calvary would be in the forefront. Other private real estate operators like John W. Harris, Sr., South Philly dean of realtors, Isadore Martin and Wendell Cornish, both operating in the West Philadelphia area, could also claim some of the credit. Of the latter day saints in the real estate world, count in youthful Lenerter Roberts, who recently, under the very noses of the wide-awake New Yorkers became the first Negro to purchase a Broadway property and to open a branch office. Lewis H. Roland and Charles Dale are cutting a wide path in the uptown Tioga section.

Recent formation of the Stevens Housing Corporation, in which Negroes and white stockholders plan to pool \$100,000 in an initial venture for the rehabilitation and building of Negro homes in the post-war period, attests to the group thinking and

planning in this direction.

Religiously, churches of all denominations are riding the boom days that accompany the inflated incomes from the many industries of the town. Mortgages are being burned so fast that it is hard to keep track of them and Easter Sunday was the high day in this regard.

When Father Divine and his cash-and-carry righteous government found Hot Harlem too sinful for his angelic entourage he moved lock, stock and barrel into a South Broad street former hotel, in the shadow of the world famous \$300,000 Tindley Temple Methodist Church, and there began attending so prodigiously to his knitting that Daddy Grace and his seven Houses of Prayer have been

temporarily eclipsed. Elder Michaux' puny efforts have by now become almost negligible in the over-all picture.

Sleep—if Philadelphia is the sleepy town—it must provide good risks, for the Provident Home Industrial Mutual Life Insurance Company, the Philadelphia office of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company and the Woodmen, fraternal insurance organization, report land office business of a record making character.

In athletics, Philadelphia might be dead but it has produced lately Robert (Bobcat) Montgomery who blasted his way into the New York version of the Lightweight championship. What would the touted "Rens" basketball aggregation have ever been if Philly had not sent Tatle Cooper, Zack Clayton and Bill Yancy over to the Big City? Naturally, the sizzling curves and speedballs Webster McDonald whizzed over the home plate did not interest New Yorkers because Mac was from Sleepytown.

W. C. Wingate and his beauty products plant is definitely big business. Several New York morticians can testify that William Took manufactures good caskets and extends credit to his customers. Spriggs and Donaldson's School of Beauty Culture, headed by Nathaniel Donaldson, a member of the State Advisory Board on Beauty Culture (for all beauticians and schools) is leading other such establishments a fast pace.

#### Jobs in Philadelphia

If its work you want just qualify as a teacher, post office clerk, skilled or unskilled worker in the Navy Yard, Marine Corps Depot, Customs House, Quartermaster Depot, Signal Corps Depot, city clerk, custodial worker (municipal or federal), watchman (ditto) or in some industrial plant. Opportunities are here if one will choose to wake up long enough to find them.

Legally, Negroes of Quakertown are well protected by members of their own race. Lewis Tanner Moore is an assistant district attorney. Robert N. C. Nix, John Francis Williams, Raymond Pace Alexander and Theodore Spaulding are the leading legal lights.

Mercy Hospital and Douglass Hospital, headed by Dr. John H. Graves and Dr. Frederick D. Stubbs, respectively, provide special medical science. There is one surgeon and two assistant surgeons of color now attached to the Philadelphia General Hospital. Two dental societies, the William A. Jackson and the Odonto-Chirurgical, and The Society of Medical and Allied Sciences keep our practitioners up-to-date.

Labor, through the CIO and AFL, somehow finds spots for Negro participation and the National Alliance of Postal Employees, the Red Caps organization and the Musicians Union keep brown Philadelphia alive as to labor trends. These are aided and abetted by a wide-awake NAACP, various veterans organizations and the Armstrong Association.

Ho! Hum! this Philly air makes one so sleepy, especially without the noise and bustle of the Harlem Hot Spots, plus the exuberance of the wise boys and girls from all over America who come to see what makes New York tick. In fact the ordinary migrant to Philly slips so noiselessly into the pattern that he is snoring louder than we are. Good night!

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# The NAACP In Philadelphia

(Historical)

By Carolyn Davenport Moore

**S**PEARHEADING the fight for full democracy for 15 million "second-class" citizens under the banner of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is not new to Philadelphia.

Dr. Nathan F. Mossell, and Dr. J. Max Barber (active in the Niagara Movement which preceded the NAACP); R. R. Wright, Jr. (now bishop of the A.M.E. Church), Dr. W. A. Sinclair and Miss Frances Bartholomew, personal friend of Mary White Ovington, member of one of Philadelphia's oldest and most distinguished families and director of the 8th Ward Settlement are listed among the association's charter members.

One of the first life members in the entire country was Miss Justina Roy, a Negro domestic who was also the first Philadelphian to secure such a membership. Miss Roy had always contributed liberally to the association and continued to do so until her death.

Among the list of "first" members of the National Board of Directors were the names of Dr. Mossell and Dr. Sinclair. Dr. Sinclair was a staunch member until his death in 1926. In fact, he died when stricken with a heart attack on his way to New York to an NAACP board meeting.

Lack of complete records make it impossible to determine the exact date of organization of the Philadelphia branch. Although a temporary committee under Dr. Mossell was active in 1912, Philadelphia was not listed among the 10 branches mentioned in the report of that year published in January, 1913. It was among the seventy branches listed in 1916.

## Activities Last War

During the last war, the branch investigated rioting, school discrimination, prosecuted theatre managers because of segregation, investigated jim-crow eating arrangements at the Hog Island shipyard where it was successful in having the practice discontinued in spite of Admiral Bowles' contention, "We have no intention of changing present methods." When this battle was won, the Admiral, extremely annoyed, told the committee from the NAACP, "I would suggest that your people learn to stay in their places."

The John Brown Memorial Association owes its existence to Dr. J. Max Barber who made a plea before the branch in 1922 to "pay fitting tribute to the memory of John

***Under the leadership of vigorous personalities the Philadelphia branch has always been in the forefront of the fight for Civil rights and equal opportunity. A review of some of the outstanding achievements of the branch***

Brown." Dr. Barber and Dr. T. S. Burwell were selected by the branch to make a pilgrimage to Lake Placid to lay a wreath on John Brown's grave. Much to their great surprise, the town's schools had been turned out for a holiday, the chamber of commerce sent a delegation to welcome the pilgrims and distinguished townspeople attended the memorial service. The annual pilgrimage, under the John Brown Memorial Association on May 9, has continued.

During the early 1920's, the branch raised, during one year, in excess of \$10,000 in addition to \$3,000 raised to help in the famous Sweet Case of Detroit. The Citizens Republican Club, once pace-setter in Philadelphia's social life, voted to contribute \$500 annually to the association and did so for several

years. The Association of Postal Employees gave \$100 each year. Dr. Jacob Billikopf, present chairman of the City-Wide Interracial Committee, was active in fund raising. It was he who first solicited the support of William Rosenwald who offered \$1,000 annually for the association's work if four others could be found who would equal this contribution. This was quickly done and he offered \$500 more annually.

It was during this period, we are told, that the branch filled the Academy of Music to overflowing, with hundreds turned away, when W. E. B. Dubois, editor of the *Crisis* spoke on "The Negro Soldier in France." Dr. Dubois had just returned from abroad and was expected to bring a startling message. His reputation for militancy caused the police to attempt to ban the meeting. Marian Anderson, at that time still an unsung artist, was the young soloist. Arthur Huff Fausett was pianist for the girl's chorus which sang. The branch cleared nearly \$1,000.

Those were the years when the nation was stirred by the terrible race riots and numerous lynchings thruout the country.

Some time later, the branch had introduced into the State legislature a Civil Rights bill



Mosley

*Press & Publicity Committee of the Philadelphia branch responsible for the special Philadelphia section of THE CRISIS. Shown are: Mrs. Edna Griffin, chairman, sitting at desk; others in the picture are Mrs. Sarah Neely, G. James Fleming, Martha S. Wright, Ralph Lester, Lyster Drumgold. Not shown are Mrs. Ruth Rolan and Conchita Nakatani.*





*Members of the executive board of the Philadelphia branch. Sitting, L. to R., they are: Rev. W. L. Johnson, Edith MacDonald, Rev. W. I. Harvey, III, Carolyn D. Moore, executive secretary; Theodore C. Spaulding, president; William Jason, Jr., chairman of the executive board; Emma Siddle, Henry C. Sparks, Edna W. Griffin. Standing, L. to R., Rev. John Dillinham, Gretchen James, Joseph H. Faison, Dr. William Cousins, Evelyn T. Langston, Milo Manley, Margaret Fortie, M. N. Patterson, George Morris, Rev. D. W. Henry and Mamie Brown. Board members absent: Alberta Norris, Bishop O. Jones, Selwyn T. Beavers, Ashley Jones, Rev. William H. Jeffreys, Jr., Maurice Fagan, Henry C. Parker, Alvin C. White, G. James Fleming, Rev. John Logan, Henry C. Patterson, Rev. Thomas Logan, William C. Wingate, Richard Winston, Dr. Thomas Georges, Dr. John K. Rice, Dr. William A. Bragg and Allen Freelon.*

"with teeth in it." The bill, once pickled, was recalled to the floor where it passed the House and reached the final reading in the Senate where it was killed by the Vare henchmen. Later, the branch was responsible for the defeat of an amended bill, House Bill 757 (1931) because of its weakness. Still later, support was thrown behind the present Civil Rights Law which was introduced by Hobson R. Reynolds, now a Philadelphia magistrate.

That year found the branch also engaged in a successful campaign against the showing of the notorious "Birth of a Nation" in Philadelphia theatres.

The fight for jobs for Negro teachers in junior high and high schools began early in 1920 when the Rev. Wm. Lloyd Imes was chairman of the Education Committee. There was an active Women's Auxiliary under the able leadership of Mrs. Georgé Lyle, Mrs. Helen Bayton and Mrs. Rose Norwood.

Youth work was directed by Mrs. M. Brinkley and Mrs. Anne L. McDougald until Miss Emma Siddle was made the first director of youth councils as they are organized today. From one council in 1935, the local youth program has grown to five active local councils.

Elwood Heacock, prominent member of the Society of Friends and secretary of the Abolition Society was the first branch president. Following him came Dr. J. Max Barber, Isadore Martin, who was president from 1919 to 1929; Attorney Herbert E. Millen, now assistant director of public safety; Dr. Charles Dorsey, Miss Susan Masseaux, Dr.

Harry J. Greene and Attorney Theodore Spaulding, present holder of the office.

Growing from a mere handful of members in 1913 to almost 1,000 in 1918, the branch now boasts more than 8,000 members with an executive office and two full-time employees. It weathered the storm of World War I and is in the midst of World War II. As we near the close of the present conflict, it becomes apparent that the association will be needed more than ever when hostilities cease abroad.

### Prepare to Meet Emergency

Making predictions is always rash business, but it is going to take much level-headedness to prevent a recurrence of the tragic riots which followed World War I. The ingenuity of the nation's best brains will be taxed in the shift from a wartime to a peacetime economy. It is going to be extremely difficult for white Americans. It will be more so for colored Americans. Demands upon the association will increase both locally and nationally. Greater support of this and similar organizations will be needed if we are to be prepared to meet the emergency which is sure to come.

Because of the pressure of work and the demand for service made on the local branch, the officers, all of whom were volunteers, found it necessary in 1942 to appoint a full-time executive secretary.

Under the leadership of its militant, but steady, young president, attorney Theodore Spaulding, the branch, although financially

handicapped, opened its office in the Keystone Building at 16th and Lombard streets in the Spring of 1942 with Mrs. Grace Livingston Goss as office secretary. On September 1, Carolyn M. Davenport, at that time director of the NAACP youth councils in Pennsylvania, began her duties as the first full-time executive secretary of the branch.

The progress of the branch since that time might best be told by someone other than the writer. Living so close to the work, it is rather difficult to analyze the program objectively. There is still so much to do that progress made thus far seems inconsequential in comparison. The friends who have been added to the rapidly growing list are too numerous to mention. The influence of the association has been felt in so many new corners that the value of a full-time office cannot be truly measured.

### Branch Cooperative

Working in close harmony with the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, the City Policy Committee, the Citizens' Committee on City Planning, the Metropolitan Council for Equal Job Opportunity, the Know Your Candidates Committee, all city-wide civic organizations, the association has found itself in many unique situations.

It has been called upon constantly to interpret the attitudes and thinking of 300,000 colored citizens in this "Cradle of Liberty." It has been called upon, too, to interpret the policy of these groups to the colored com-

(Continued on page 147).

# Interracial Organizations In Philadelphia

By Lyster E. Drumgold

**T**O talk about interracial and intercultural goodwill is fine enough, but to talk and do nothing, deplorable. Convictions and ideals discussed but not practiced mean nil. From the long list of active groups in Philadelphia it is evidenced that many share this belief.

Just as we cannot survive long on a diet of bread and water, neither can interracial relations be improved by small, select groups that meet behind closed doors to sip tea and discuss in whispered tones racial problems, the evils of prejudice, and segregation. This would seem to be the consensus of opinion, too.

Among the organizations for interracial betterment, besides the NAACP, are: The United Peoples Action Committee, Arthur Huff Fausett, president; Council for Equal Job Opportunity, Robert Parker, president; Committee to Abolish Job Discrimination in Employment of the CIO, Jimmy Jones, president; the Young People's Interracial Fellowship, Marjorie Penney, director; the Interracial Discussion Group, Joseph Gorelik, president; City-Wide Interracial Committee, Jacob Billikop, chairman, and The Philadelphia School of Social Science. The Fellowship Commission is a joint group representing the seven leading interracial, intercultural and inter-faith organizations.

## Interracial Fellowship

Realizing that obtuse race attitudes emanate in childhood, the Interracial Fellowship has innovated at Fellowship House, 1431 Brown street, a High School Fellowship under the guidance of Miss Marjorie Penney, head-

## TO AMERICA

How would you have us, as we are  
Or sinking 'neath the load we bear?  
Our eyes fixed forward on a star?  
Or gazing empty at despair?

Rising or falling? Men or things?  
With dragging pace or footsteps fleet?  
Strong, willing sinews in your wings?  
Or tightening chains about your feet?

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

worker, Mrs. Marechal-Neil Young, Mrs. Norman Gentieu, and Mrs. Miriam Glickman. Organized last October, "to do away with barriers," the fellowship is comprised of more than one hundred students and twenty-two teachers from many public and private schools in Philadelphia and its environs.

Through daily contacts, posters, essays, poems, assemblies, and classroom forums, The High School Fellowship endeavors to "re-form" fellow students who do not believe in racial tolerance. The idea, started as an experiment, has proved successful and is spreading rapidly.

*The High School Fellowship News Letter*, official publication of these "units for unity" reports that the tension and racial animosity which formerly was so prevalent in the school system is even now on the wane. School reporters in their articles urge others to "help build a community where prejudice and discrimination give way to justice and equal rights for all."

The forerunner, one in seven like fellowships, conducted in Toledo, Peoria, Cleveland, Baltimore, Tuscon, and New York, the

Philadelphia Young Peoples' Interracial Fellowship in January, 1941, leased the house it now occupies. A month later the Fellowship office—a table, a chair, a typewriter, and Miss Penney—moved in. Recalling those early days, when number "1431" was just a dirty, dusty, paneless four-story brick building, full of fallen plaster, Miss Penney smiled and said "We've come a long, hard way with the help of our friends."

Fellowship House, located in one of the worst "tension centers" of the city, has been paid for in three years, through contributions and donations of friends, and has gone through a metamorphosis, from perfume factory, coffin factory, and a fire house, gradually into what it is today—a really free spot, and a home.

For children from four to fourteen years of age, Fellowship House has "The Arrows," a character building program which has been planned to help children develop a sense of brotherhood with all men. Children are not born with race prejudice but with age acquire it from narrow and bigoted associations. Through a schedule of song, race-history training, and group study the children are taught the credo of fellowship.

## Teachers Intercultural Group

The formation of the Teachers' Intercultural Relations Group in 1942 was another step towards better intercultural and interracial relationship in the public school system. A better teacher-pupil understanding and a wider participation and cognizance of common problems has resulted.

Comprised of teachers, social workers, counsellors, and supervisors, the group headed by Mrs. Olivia Stuard Henry, acting chairman, Mrs. Catherine Hillie, secretary, and Miss Caroline Slotter, treasurer, with Dr. William H. Welsh and Dr. Charles S. Johnson as consultants, has encouraged inter-school conferences to discuss racial problems, special training for teachers to enable them to cope with understanding the problems of different ethnic and religious groups, and a recreational program for after school hours.

## Catholic Colleges Active

Yet another organization which strives to educate students along these lines is the Catholic Intercollegiate Interracial Council which is composed of members of five Catholic colleges, LaSalle, Villanova, Immaculata,

(Continued on page 155)



A classroom scene in the Philadelphia School of Social Sciences, 1704 Walnut street, Philadelphia, where men and women of all national origins and social levels gather to study political, social, economic, and international problems in an informal atmosphere. The school lists among its instructors many prominent Negro attorneys, pastors, teachers, etc.

## Unfinished Business

(Continued from page 141)

as old Philadelphians. I see my city rotting and decaying. I have wept for my city, for is is a terrible thing to see something which once pulsed with life, radiating energy and strength, attracting love and smiles, disintegrating, rotting under the very eyes and nostrils, stagnating from paralysis, dying a living death.

Still it need not die. All that ever made this place justly great and famous still inheres to its shores. Its perplexity, like the world's travail, is our opportunity. We Negroes have the inspiring chance to rebuild a once great center into an even greater citadel of democracy and progress. Philadelphia needs us Negroes even more than we need Philadelphia.

A mighty war is being fought both at home and abroad. The victory over Fascism is the first and foremost piece of unfinished business. What of the Negro after the war? is the question which many ask. The answer lies largely with the Negro himself.

"Cast down your buckets where you are!" admonished Booker T. Washington. Philadelphians, Americans, here in Penn's city lies one of America's fairest opportunities. Rich in its past traditions, there is still a richer future for all who believe in and will work

for her and for America's great destiny. Out of this welter of sickness and morbidity still may be found, as in '76 and '87, the implements with which to fashion that new world of freedom, human brotherhood, and happiness. What is required is the faith, intelligence, and will to accomplish which once made Penn's city the fairest jewel of all those cities which studded America's shores.

## NAACP in Philadelphia

(Continued from page 145)

munity.

Appeals for help are endless in variety; indeed we are a veritable "INFORMATION, PLEASE" bureau. From rent control and price regulations to theatre segregation, housing and employment discrimination, unions, jim-crow in the armed forces, subsidy and education bills, we jump to information to be used in writing university theses.

Perhaps the most dramatic fight ever waged by the branch has been the two-year battle for the upgrading and employment of Negroes as motormen, conductors, cashiers, mechanics, and bus drivers by the local transit company. The battle has included participation in several gigantic mass meetings, a mass demonstration parade, an FEPC hearing, a hearing before the nefarious Smith Committee of Congress, and the most bitter union election waged in this city for many, many years. The "independent" company union which threatened "chaos" if Negroes were hired in these positions, has lost its favored position to a more liberal Transport Workers Union, CIO. Negotiations are now underway for a contract which is expected to eliminate the past discriminatory employment practices. Until Negroes are actually driving the cars and holding the other operational positions, the NAACP will be in the front line of the attack.

We are now in the midst of a new campaign. Our goal this year is 20,000 members. The drive, which opened at Tindley Temple on Sunday afternoon, April 23, with a monster rally, will close on May 19. Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, veteran campaigner, is conducting the drive. Harold Pilgrim, widely known civic worker and YMCA campaigner is the local director. Captains and workers are determined to pass the goal. They will be ringing Philadelphia's doorbells. Theirs will be the invitation to:

"Get into the fight for the Right to Live and the Right to Die;  
the Right to Work and the Right to Play;  
the Right to Teach and the Right to Learn;  
the Right to Serve and the Right to Govern.

Make the history  
still to be written more glorious than that now past."

## Negro Farmers Help Counties Win Food Production Awards

Negro farmers helped 37 counties earn "A" achievement awards for outstanding wartime farm production in 1943, according to figures released by the War Food Administration. Reports compiled by WFA show that out of 38 counties in the entire south which received "A" banners, Negroes operate farms in all but one of them. Among the victory counties which have a large number of Negro farmers are Laurens and Early counties, Ga.; St. Landry parish, La.; Simpson, Hinds, Claiborne, and Holmes counties, Miss.; Shelby county, Tenn.; and Cherokee county, Texas.

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# Philadelphia Pioneers In Business

By Ralph L. Lester

FIFTY odd years before the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were passed, Philadelphia Negroes had pioneered and made considerable progress in numerous business ventures.

As far back as 1779, a Negro, recorded only as "John," was listed on the city's assessment role for eight acres and a horse. Mention is also made of "a colored man" who in 1806 was managing "with much ability" a farm at Merion on the outskirts of Philly.

By 1810 the city Negro population had grown to 10,522 and Negro business enterprises came into existence. More than 100 homes were owned by Negroes.

Growing out of the sick and death benefit societies established among free Negroes during the slave days, the first Negro insurance company organized in the United States had its birth in Philadelphia. It was the American Insurance Company of Philadelphia, established in 1810 at 159 (now 529) Lombard street, with a capital of \$5,000.00.

The number of shopkeepers, tradesmen and other enterprisers increased and twenty years later a number of Negro businessmen were prosperous enough to attract attention. Many had amassed fortunes and, according to records at the Pennsylvania Historical Society, "managed their business with considerable ability and integrity."

A sampling of the statistics, for that period, show: 248 barbers; 66 boot and shoemakers; 565 dressmakers; 20 tailors; 12 sailmakers; 9 stationary engineers, and a sugar refiner.

Also included are caterers, upholsterers, builders, painters and glazers, chinaware dealers, spectacle makers, silversmiths, mineral water makers, map mounters, draughtsmen, gold and silver pencil finishers, antique dealers, real estate agents, stove makers and a lengthy list of other craftsmen.

## Catering Lucrative

One of the first and most lucrative businesses which Philadelphia Negroes monopolized was that of catering.

The first prominent caterer was Robert Bogle, who early in the nineteenth century conducted an establishment on Eighth street near Sansom. In his day he was one of the best known characters in the city and virtually created the business of catering in Philadelphia.

Bogle's place was eventually taken over by Peter Augustine, listed as a West Indian emigrant, who started a business which flourished for many years. It was the Augustine establishment that made Philadelphia caterers famous all over the world.

**With caterers, sailmakers, printers, bootmakers, bankers, real estate operators, and other types of business, the history of the Philadelphia Negro in business dates back as far as 1779. In this article our author reviews this rich past and the successful present**

This field was soon crowded and finally the triumvirate Jones, Dorsey and Minton came on the scene. They ruled the fashionable world from 1845-1875. Minton had a restaurant at Fourth and Chestnut streets and all three became "moderately wealthy."

Other caterers who achieved a considerable degree of success included: John Price, David Brown, Trower, Currey, Andrew F. Stevens, Martin Cowdrey, Matthews, Paige, Henry S. Black, John Holland and last but not least ranking high in every respect, Baptiste.

This latter was located at 215 S. 15th street and as late as last year the name could still be discerned on the old building.

Wealth and affluence showed a marked increase in the Negro ranks prior to the Civil War.

James Forten, a sailmaker, and credited with the invention of apparatus for managing sails, was rated in 1832 as being worth over \$100,000.00 and the widow of Bishop Richard Allen was supposed to have \$25,000.00.

## Business Varied

Joseph Cassey, money broker, was rated at \$75,000.00 and W. Whipper, Philadelphia partner of Stephen Smith, a Columbia, Pennsylvania, lumber merchant, was listed, along with James Prosser, a restaurant owner, as "wealthy."

The *Colored Peoples Trade Register* of 1894 throws definite light on the business interests of colored Philadelphia:

Edward W. Venning, 8 Bonsall street, was a carpenter. His son, Joseph E., was a "house, sign and ornamental painter, glazer, draughtsmen and bookkeeper."

Thomas Butler, 6 S. Eighth street, a barber, "owns real estate valued at \$4,500."

Jonathan Miller, Pearl street, a tobacconist.

John Black, Carpenter street and Eighth, "sugar refiner" and Thomas King, 338 South street, "brewer."

Peter J. Agustus, Goodwater Alley, con-

fectioner, listed as having personal property of \$10,000.

Hager Ballard, 170 Locust street with no business or occupation given, is credited with \$40,000.00 real estate and \$16,000.00 personal property.

Robert Douglas, 54 Arch street, barber, was estimated to have real estate of \$7,000.00 and personal property of \$1,000.

Many business ventures owed their existence to the peculiar environment of the Negro. Their exclusion from cemeteries led to the organization of cemetery companies. The Olive Cemetery, organized in 1849, held 8 acres of property in the 24th Ward worth \$100,000 and had 900 lot owners. Founded in the same year, the Lebanon, owned by Nick Boliver and Jack White, purchased land worth \$75,000 in the 36th Ward.

The Merion, established many years later, held 21 acres in Montgomery county worth \$30,000. All these companies were, in the main, well-conducted and even today there are several Negro-owned cemeteries in the Philadelphia area, including the Merion.

Mother of the Negro press, *The Christian Recorder*, published in Philadelphia since 1842, is the oldest Negro publication now in existence and was first published as the official organ of the A. M. E. Church, 631 Pine street, a short distance from the Mother Bethel Church where the founder of African Methodism is buried.

But the *Recorder* was not the first paper published by Negroes in Philadelphia. Although short lived, the first was the *Demosthenian Shield* which appeared in 1840. Other newspapers, aside from church and fraternal journals, were *The Astonisher*, an 8-page weekly; *The Standard-Echo*, a 4-page weekly and the *Weekly Tribune*.

It remained for Chris J. Perry, Sr., to establish in 1884, *The Philadelphia Tribune*, a weekly newspaper whose news coverage and business policies placed it on a high level for its period. It soon became the mouthpiece for colored citizens of the city.

## Business Expanded

As the Negro population grew, so did their business ventures expand. A few listings from the census of 1856 gives the following:

Richard Gaines, stationary engineer; brother John, bootmaker; John Jones, opposite Acorn Alley, sailmaker; Isaac Hazzard, 159 S. 10th street, musician and music teacher; Henry Beulah, 24 Burd Court, distiller and James Newman, 12 Burd Court, a hatter.

Henry Minton, 56 S. 12th street, boot-maker; James A. Thomas, St. Joseph avenue, tanner and morocco dresser; Thomas A. Bell, Mechanic street, upholsterer, and David Kline, Orange street, tinsmith and sheet and iron worker.

James McCrummill, 226 N. 3rd street, barber and dentist; William Moulson, Pennsylvania avenue, near William street, "man and wife both barbers"; John Pride, Oxford street, manufacturing chemist, and Robert Wallace, 23rd Ward, then known as Cooperville, varnish manufacturer.

A complete family's activities is in several instances listed in the census appendix. Here are two: "John Higgins, of Raspberry street, is a silk and woolen dyer. His wife is a dress-maker and embroiderer and keeps a flourishing private school. The daughter, Henrietta Wilson, is a milliner and dressmaker; James Wilson, the son-in-law, is a practising physician."

Richard Moore, Rose Alley, was a boot-maker. His sister-in-law, Ann Elizabeth Cary, taught a private day school until failing health obliged her to give up. Later she gave private lessons in her own rooms to adult persons. The greater portion of her pupils were white persons whose education had been neglected. In this way they effectually concealed their ignorance from their associates while receiving lessons from a colored woman.

Among the upholsterers the name of Warley Bascom is most outstanding. A "free Negro" and native of Charleston, S. C., he opened a shop in 1859 at 261 South Eighth street. William and Edgar Bascom, the grandsons are carrying on the business at 247 South Tenth street. Other upholsterers of the early period include: Carter Williams, Robert Williams, Bowman and Bivens.

### Real Estate Operations

In real estate operations Colonel John McKee was unequalled. He was considered, at one time, one of the wealthiest Negroes in the United States. Born in Virginia, reportedly free, he was apprenticed to a brick-maker and ran away to work in a Baltimore confectioner's.

When he came of age, he migrated to Philadelphia, worked in a livery stable and graduated into the employ of a restaurant keeper. He began to dabble in real estate while still a young man and made the bulk of his fortune out of it, after giving up the restaurant business in 1866.

He is reported to have owned more than a million acres of land at one time in several states. At his death, he owned nearly four hundred houses in Philadelphia. The value of his combined real estate holdings, comprising several states, was estimated at between one and one-half to two million dollars.

McKee City, N. J., which he founded, is named in his honor.

Often called "the dean of Philadelphia bus-

## BEREAN SCHOOL TYPING CLASS



*Founded in 1899 by Dr. Matthew Anderson, the Berean School, 1926-28-30 South College avenue, Philadelphia, offers vocational training, in wartime and peacetime, in needle trades and business methods. Over 80 percent of its graduates are placed in lucrative positions. Blanche W. Anderson is principal.*

ness men," Dr. E. Parker Read, 1440 South street, was the first Negro to open a drug store in this city fifty-four years ago.

Mrs. Henrietta Bowe Dieutere was the first colored undertaker in the city. She died in 1903.

William P. Allmond, Sr., was the first colored male undertaker. He was located at 1028 Lombard street. Here he made his own caskets and they were varnished and stained on the sidewalk. The record is blank as to the existence of any Negro undertakers in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

In trying to solve the problem of home ownership, Negroes also founded three building and loan associations. The first was The Century Building and Loan Association, established in 1886 by teachers, upholsterers, clerks, restaurant keepers and undertakers. "The Pioneers" with officers on Pine street was founded the same year.

The Berean Building and Loan Association, the oldest colored concern still in exist-

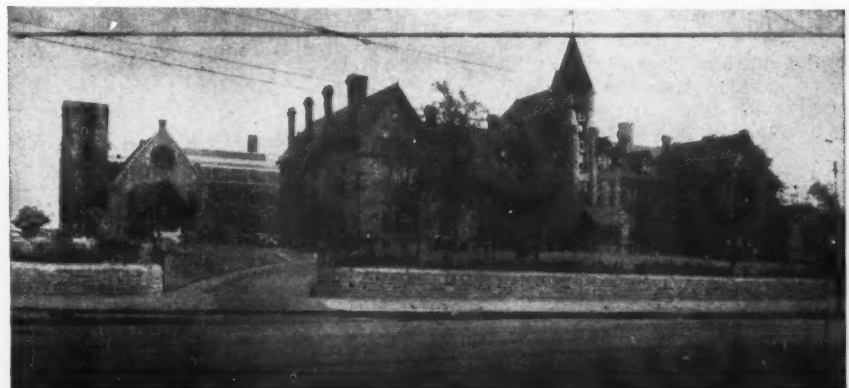
ence, is the brain child of Matthew Anderson who came to Philadelphia in 1881. On Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1888, The Berean was founded, named in honor of the Berean Presbyterian Church, with William Still, author of *The Underground Railroad*, as the first president.

Its income for 1896 was nearly \$30,000 and it had \$60,000 in loans. Up to that time forty-three homes had been purchased through the association. The 1943 annual report of this company shows assets of \$390,838.17, ranking it as one of the leading institutions of its kind in the city.

### Banking and Theatres

As long as they lasted, Philadelphians enjoyed and were proud of the banking firm of Brown and Stevens and the theatrical and real estate empire of John T. Gibson. The ill-fated Brown and Stevens Bank was located on the N. E. corner of Broad and Lom-

*(Continued on page 152)*



*Mercy Hospital and nurse training school at 50th Street and Woodland avenue, Philadelphia.*

# Women of Philadelphia and Their Activities

By Sara E. Neely

**W**OMEN in Philadelphia have answered their country's call in both volunteer and salaried services just as women over the country and the world have done. They have wholeheartedly entered the spirit of things and are working assiduously and regularly in the vital issues of this emergency.

Helping to furnish the finance for war is a big job that is being successfully done by Mrs. Evelyn Reynolds, who is local divisional chairman of the War Finance Group No. 4. Serving with her as co-chairman are Mrs. Julia Stratton, Mrs. Beckie Able and Mrs. Cordelia Hinkson, who is now with her husband Lt. Colonel DeHaven Hinkson, at Fort Huachuca.

Among those who have received the Blue Star Brigade Award for war bond sales are Mesdames Ella B. Clarke, first woman in Philadelphia to receive the award, Lena Smith, Lenore Evans, Betty Byrd, Araminta Rogers, Mae Chew, Vera Drew, Mable Gates, Christine Wilson, Ethel Nix, Gladys Thomas, Lillian Wall, Maude Bowser, Agnes Upshur, Mammie Purnell, Beatrice Dorsey, Elizabeth Parks, Sallie Johnson, Edith Daniels, Irene Walker, Marguerite Richardson, Ethel Taylor, Hattie Henry and Miss Mary Venning. Added to her war bond selling, Mrs. Reynolds is also co-chairman of the staff of the Ridge avenue office of the Civilian Defense.

In Germantown, Mrs. E. Pearl Bailey, is the representative on the staff of the Civilian Defense Office. She also serves with the Price Civilian Panel for the War Price and Rationing Board and is a volunteer investigator. Mrs. Bailey is the junior aid raid warden for her post; is a member of the metropolitan board of directors of the YMCA, and is a member of the Educational Committee of the Council of Social Agencies and of the Committee for Day Care for Children.

Recently, Mrs. Eva H. Rodgers and Mrs. Ruth W. Doss have been appointed as co-chairman and coordinator, respectively, of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Red Cross.

## Service Workers

Mrs. Antoinette Ballard, assisted by Mrs. Ira Jefferson and Mrs. Edward F. Morris, have organized and trained a group of Grey Ladies at the Douglass and Mercy Hospitals. The services of these nurses' aides and ward aides are invaluable to Mrs. Brannon, director of nurses at Douglass and to Mrs. Elma R. Moncrieffe, at Mercy. Very active in

*This article outlines the varied activities of Philadelphia's women in religion, the church, education, social service, the arts, and club and sorority life*

professional nursing and in public health are Bertha Bryant, Catherine Wortley, Anne Hogan, Flora Brown, Camilla McArthur, Lillian Rankin, Nannie Bishop, and Elsie Raymond.

At the South Broad Street USO, Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander, noted attorney, spends her spare time successfully directing numerous services for the men in the Armed Forces. Mrs. Elizabeth Young, assistant director, has had the volunteer support of many women.

In the social service group we find Mrs. Irma Troy Hert at the Lincoln Day Nursery; Mrs. Ada Carter at the Bureau for Colored Children; Mrs. Pauline Williams with the Children's Aid and Mrs. Lelia Warrick in the Social Service Department of the Philadelphia General Hospital.

Miss Mary Wood, executive secretary of the Southwest Branch of the YWCA is ably supported by the chairman of the board, Mrs. Alma Harllee. Mrs. Elizabeth Duplessis is the capable chairman of the Germantown YWCA.

Mrs. Mary Brooks has carved her own niche by her influence in the opening of the James Weldon Johnson Homes Library. This is a branch of the Philadelphia Public Library. Mrs. Brooks is the appointed librarian in charge. She serves daily in volunteer capacity hundreds of children and adults.

Mrs. Blanche Nutt has served as volunteer civilian defense librarian at the Wissahickon Boys Club.

In the science of medicine, are Doctors Helen O. Dickens, Margaret Scott, Grace Kimbrough, and Virginia Alexander, now on leave away from the city. Several other young women have come into the field in the last few years. Among the pharmacists are Anne Comegys and Dorothy Faegans. The clinical laboratories of Theorgood and Burton occupy a unique position.

## Women in Education

Women who are serving in the field of public education number about three hundred and are found as volunteers in a very large percentage of outstanding agencies. These

women are represented in most of the above mentioned organizations and their influence goes far beyond the walls of the classroom. In the public schools there are four colored women principals: Mrs. Verona Becket, who also serves eminently as president of the Negro History Society; Miss Marie S. Chase and Miss Ella Webb, active in the Interracial Fellowship, are in the West Philadelphia area, and Miss Nellie Bright, who serves on many fronts, is in Germantown.

Mrs. Blanche Anderson is principal of the Berean Manual Training and Industrial School. As recognition of her merit, Dr. Isabell Yeiser was assigned to special research for the Department of Education.

Among the many contributions of the teachers are a few of those especially known for their respective educational interests: Edith Hurley, especially active in the Education Equality League; Florence B. Evans, kindergarten; Olivia Henry, chairman, Teachers Intercultural Group; Edna Griffin, participation in curriculum building; Ethel Lymas, Hazel Baker and Marechal-Neil Young in counselling; Jennie Jester in home economics; Rosetta Barrett in choral speaking, and Irene W. Long in the correction of speech defects.

## Women in Arts

Through the prisms of the art world are highlighted the paintings, sculpturing and jewelry work of Laura Wheeler Waring, Beatrice Overton, Martha Manning, Ethel Sargeant, Helen Harris, Harriet Jason and Frances Mitchell.

Our own Marian Anderson illuminates the musical world of Philadelphia. Other bright lights and coming stars are Constance Stokes and Camilla Williams—winners of the Marian Anderson award. Ursula Curd is a highly successful concert pianist. Marion T. Stubbs, Eleanor Whyte, Mary M. Hoxter, Gladys Bowie and Grace Hobson are well known pianists. Mrs. Kate Waring Taylor has a well organized group of young girls, "Les Jeunes Filles," whose vocal music shows fine training.

In the companion art—poetry—we note the contribution of Isabelle Yeiser, Mae Cowdery, Bessie Bird and Evelyn Reynolds.

In the legal section of this woman's parade, there is only one—Mrs. Sadie T. M. Alexander. She is the partner of her husband in the law business.

One woman who has gone to the top in the political field is Crystal Byrd Fausett, who





Members of the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority at the Pyramid Club, 1517 West Girard avenue, when they sponsored a reception honoring Marian Anderson.

Mosley

became the first Negro woman member of the Pennsylvania Legislature and who is now on the national staff of the National Democratic Committee. Keeping step with either of the major parties are Mesdames Satterwaite, Mazie Mossell, Nellie Hazel, Helen Duckett, Willie Layton and Viola Allen.

#### Church Activities

Women in church activities play their part against all competition. There are such women as Mrs. E. P. Matthews who recently received a testimonial banquet at New Bethel Baptist Church where she has been an efficient club president for many years. Mrs. Sara Gayle has served twenty-three years as president of the community club. In the First African Baptist Church, Mother Mary Henry has been the leader of Heliotrope Club for over thirty-five years. Other persons well known in church activities are: Mrs. J. B. Dandy, Mrs. D. W. Hoggard of Mt. Carmel; Mrs. Mary Smith, Mrs. Helen Speight, Mrs.

Louisa Bascom of St. Thomas P. E. Church, Mrs. Rebecca Truitt, Mrs. Nan Titus, Mrs. Emma Hagans, Mrs. John Black and Mrs. Anna Lebnon at Central Presbyterian Church; Mrs. Mamie Sims of the AME Church and Mrs. C. C. Alleyne of the AME Zion Church.

Mrs. Alice Reading has been an active member of the Mercy Hospital Service Club for over twenty years, and she is also secretary of the Quaker City Elks.

The Imogene Howard Club, twenty-five years old, has had Mrs. Addie Gilbert as its sole president until recently when she resigned because of illness.

Mrs. Viola P. Allen is president of the Philadelphia City Federation of Negro Womens Clubs.

#### Business Women

Getting down to business such names and groups as the following stand out: Ella Robinson, Ruth Deane, Cornelia Wimbish, for

their dress shops; Norma Winslow and "Harriet" for their hat shops; Ida Burrell and Nellie Hazell for their employment bureau; Miss Lillian Venning, Mrs. Louise Fields, Mrs. Darius Keene and Mrs. Gross for florist shops; Adella Harper and Mrs. Florence Madison Hill, realtors; Charlotte Mason, barber, and numerous beauticians. Numerous newspaper women include Bertha P. Rhodes, Sara Neely, Cartherine Taylor, Martha Wright, Ruth Rolan, Lyster Drumgold, Conchita Nakatoni, Evelyn Reynolds and Barbara Prigmore.

Our only woman banker is Mrs. Harriet Wright Lemon, chief teller and member of the board of the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company. She is a graduate of the American Institute of Banking.

Women are successful as morticians: Mrs. Jennie Morris, Mrs. Delsie Johns, Mrs. Florence Black and Mrs. Maude Baker who has become the partner to her husband.



Mosley

This recreation room of St. John's Settlement House, 1332 N. 12th street, Philadelphia, is maintained and financed by the national sorority of Phi Delta Kappa. The program of games, toys, reading, story telling, etc., offered youngsters here has been planned by the sorors. Salaries of the workers are also paid by them.

## Club & Sorority Activities

The president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, serving her sixth consecutive year, is Mrs. Adelaide Harty Fleming, R. N., under whose leadership the organization has increased its yearly contribution to the NAACP. Mrs. Fleming, a graduate nurse, is also operator of the state licensed Fleming's Convalescent Hospital, and is active on the board of the St. Nicholas Day Nursery, the American Home Owners Institute and several other organizations. She also finds time to be leading soprano soloist of the Allen AME Church.

Among the very young women, we see Ruth Beckett, embalmer, director, and business manager for her father; Jane Gilbert, young violinist, who was on the "Stars of Tomorrow" program in Town Hall, New York, and over whose progress Mr. W. C. Handy keeps personal interest; The Wingate daughters—Elizabeth, Ella Edith and Bessie—who show personal interest in their father's cosmetics supply business; Willadine Grinnage, recent graduate of Philadelphia High School for Girls, whose poetry and essays brought her honors on the commencement program and placed her on an inter-cultural program with Pearl Buck; Sadie Stridiron, a young graduate of Temple, active at the USO, teaches music and is director of the Union Recreation in a public playground.

Sororities are a very active part of Philadelphia women. When we think of the vast national scope of work in health, in educational guidance and in non-partisan political affairs, we are proud in the knowledge that there are two national officers of the Alpha Kappa Sorority in Philadelphia, Mrs. Ethel Hedgman Lyle, founder, and Miss Ruth A. Scott, regional director. There are three AKA chapters in Philadelphia—Temple University, University of Pennsylvania, and the graduate chapter. Two honorary members claimed by Philadelphia are Marian Anderson and Laura Wheeler Waring.

The National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa has one of its most vigorous chapters in the Quaker City—Zeta, headed by Mrs. Olivia Stuard Henry, who is also national publicity director of the sorority, serves on a Department of Education Committee, and is one of the real leaders of intercultural relations. This summer she will attend the Harvard Intercultural Workshop for the second year. Among other things, the Phi Delta Kappas have furnished and decorated a recreation room at the St. John's Settlement House, and pays yearly for the recreation worker attached.

There are two chapters of Delta Sigma Theta, Gamma, the undergraduate chapter, of which Miss Norma Friday is president and Xi Sigma Chapter, the graduate chapter of which Miss Hortense King is president. Miss Friday is a senior at Temple and Miss King is a graduate of Howard University and the University of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Pauline O. Minor, one of the Delta founders, is re-

siding in Philadelphia.

Chapters of Zeta Phi Geta and Sigma Gamma Rho also actively carry out their national programs here.

## Civil Service

Women are very prominent in Civil Service jobs—in the post office, where there are persons like Z. Somerville Fauntleroy, once active in political circles and women's federation groups; in social welfare persons like Rose Norwood Steward, district supervisor in the Department of Public Welfare; Mrs. Ailene Cooper and Mrs. John Marquess, probation officers; Mrs. Frank Hogan, district health nurse in the Barks Street Health Center.

The War Chest boasts of Mrs. Mamie M. Thomas as liaison officer.

There is little room to list even a handful of young workers who are filling important pivotal positions in the secretarial and clerical field—often the women behind the men whose names make the headlines. Some of them are Miss Ursula Curd, secretary to Tanner G. Duckrey, Department of Education; Helen Perkins-Gorgas, secretary and administrative aide to G. James Fleming, regional director, the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice; Lorraine Alexander, secretary to E. Washington Rhodes, editor, the *Philadelphia Tribune*; Oretta Storey, secretary to Mrs. Carolyn Davenport Moore, executive secretary, the NAACP; Aneida Jackson, administrative secretary of the Mount Lawn Cemetery Company; Mabel Simmons, secretary in the War Manpower Commission; Pauline Jervay, office secretary of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company of which J. B. Deans is district manager; Alzeta Hamilton, secretary to Levi Jolley, editor of the *Philadelphia Afro-American*; Melnese Wilson Gibson, secretary to Major R. R. Wright, president, Citizens & Southern Bank and Trust Company.

Behind all these are hundreds of thousands of war workers who are showing that they can shoulder new responsibilities and master new skills.

## Philadelphia Pioneers In Business

(Continued from page 149)

bard streets. It opened for business January 16, 1916, with deposits amounting to \$728.00.

Brown, partner of Andrew S. Stevens, was considered a shrewd business man with no peer as a real estate broker. The bank flourished and, it was reported, at one time to rank second in size out of twenty-seven private banking institutions in the city.

But Brown made the mistake of venturing into a field foreign to him—operating a theatre. The theatre was the Dunbar (now the Lincoln) located diagonally across the street

from the bank, for which the firm paid \$500,000.

After several years of operating the Dunbar at a loss, it was sold to their arch business rival John T. Gibson for \$420,000. But the damage was done.

The Dunbar had eaten up the live assets of the bank. News leaked out that Brown and Stevens were ready to fold up. A run on the bank followed and one of the outstanding institutions closed its doors in the fall of 1924.

John T. Gibson came to Philadelphia in the nineties and peddled meat, caned chairs, and did various odd jobs. His first venture into the theatrical business began in 1910, when Samuel Reading took him in as a partner in a moving picture and vaudeville house, known as the North Pole.

This was the first movie house on South street and was a success in a small way. Gibson, shrewd and ambitious, bought out his partner, closed the North Pole, and moved into the Standard, a larger and more modern playhouse on South street.

The Standard Theatre became a veritable gold mine, but Gibson was ambitious and cast a designing eye about for more profits. He purchased the Dunbar Theatre and found a "white elephant" on his hands (and a white elephant it has remained to this day).

Profits from the Standard were used to carry on the Dunbar. This financial cancer and his real estate holdings tottering with the depression's arrival soon had the self-styled Napoleon of colored business worried.

Like a house of cards Gibson's empire came tumbling down and the early thirties found him just a step ahead of poverty.

In concluding this article it should be mentioned that all these business men, great or small, left behind a saga—itsself rich in challenge and full of the stuff that intrigued all pioneers to fame and fortune. Out of this background, more and new Negro enterprises have been born and grown: Philadelphia has a Negro-owned bank today; the *Afro-American* newspapers recently bought back into the race the Brown and Stevens building; the owners of important real estate are legion. With the historic pioneering spirit of Philadelphia, the "Unfinished Business" of Philadelphia gives promise of completion.

## A BLACK MAN SINGS

My song is a mighty voice  
Ringing across the land,  
Pleading for kindness, love and hope  
From man to fellow man.  
My laughter is the sunlight  
Dancing on rippling streams,  
Hiding my wounds away from the world,  
Concealing my shattered dreams.  
My prayer is the cry of stricken mankind  
Travailing in affliction deep,  
But rising ever upward to God  
Commending its soul to His keep.

LEVIN MORRIS

# Church Conventions Choose Philadelphia

By Eustace Gay

PHILADELPHIA is "The City of Homes" and "The City of Churches," two factors not so unrelated as may at first glance be thought.

If any city on the North American continent rivals Brooklyn, N. Y., as a church city, it is Philadelphia. Time was not taken to secure comparative statistics, but I would not be surprised if Philadelphia did not excel Brooklyn in this worthwhile aspect.

The national spotlight is being focused on Philadelphia this year because the Fates have decreed that this city is to play host to several organizations of national and state-wide prominence.

Churches can not do what financial institutions do at the close of a fiscal year—publish a statement of assets and liabilities and show a definite profit or loss on the year's work. Much of the work of the Christian church deals with intangibles; much of its work must depend on Time to evaluate its success and failure.

And yet, it is possible to say this much: Philadelphia's churches, of whatever religious faith, are vital forces in the life of this city of two million souls. They constitute one of the few bright spots in what might otherwise be a rather sordid picture of crass materialism and mad seeking after "the things which perish."

The coming of the Quadrennial meeting of the great African Methodist Episcopal Church serves to call to mind that in this city was started a movement—a religious movement—that has overcome the "ravages of time" and justified the vision of its founder—Richard Allen.

Its social significance—its demonstration of the capacity and ability of men of color to organize and develop a purely racial movement—must not be lost sight of. At Richard Allen's shrine in historic Bethel A.M.E. Church, here, may be gathered inspiration for all those faint hearts who view the future "through a glass darkly."

Every orthodox—and many unorthodox—religious group in America has a following here. Like the Greeks whom the Apostle Paul found in the Areopagus either telling or hearing "some new thing," Philadelphians display unusual liberality in the welcome they extend to orthodoxy and unorthodoxy alike.

Here are to be found, in addition to the African Methodists—all the other branches and offshoots of Methodism: Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Seventh-Day Adventists; the adherents of Bishop

Charles Manuel ("Daddy") Grace; the devotees of the "Peace" Movement, led by Rev. M. J. Divine, better known as "Father Divine"; various Holiness groups, the Church of God, the Church of God in Christ, Roman Catholics, and even some "black Jews," who chant the ancient wails of Israel at appropriate seasons of the year.

Philadelphia counts among its historic congregations, in addition to the Bethel church mentioned above, Zoar Methodist Church, perhaps 150 years old; the First African Baptist Church, nearing its sesquicentennial and "Mother Church" of colored local Baptists; Union and Shiloh Baptist churches, both centenarians; Tindley Temple Methodist (named for the late Dr. Charles Albert Tindley, famous pulpiteer), whose present minister, the scholarly Dr. David W. Henry, may be gracing the Bench of the Bishops of his Church before this year ends; Lombard Central Presbyterian Church; and the mother Church of African Presbyterianism, the First African Presbyterian Church, both in locations other than those in which they gained their fame; and last, but certainly not the least, historic St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, founded by Absalom Jones, a contemporary and associate of Richard Allen.

The General Conference of the great African Methodist Church, in selecting Philadelphia for its quadrennial, picked a city where the reception will be natural and sincere and will partake of the nature of a "home coming," comparable at least in some respects to the periodic return of Israelites to those altars where, at critical moments in their history, they "met Jehovah" and had "their spiritual strength renewed."

This story would not be complete without brief mention of two other Church conventions which have chosen "The City of Brotherly Love" as the locale of their 1944 assemblies:

The New England Missionary Baptist Convention, older than the National Baptist Convention, Inc., and headed by the "tall cedar of Lebanon," Dr. J. C. Jackson, of Hartford, Conn.; and the Pennsylvania Baptist State Sunday School Convention, whose leader is the "Prince of Laymen," William Strothers, of Pittsburgh.

The New England Convention and its auxiliaries will meet with the White Rock Baptist Church, 52nd and Arch streets, as host, and the Mt. Carmel Baptist Church, 58th and Race streets, as co-host; while the State Sunday School organization will be guest of the Mt. Carmel Church.

## BISHOP SIMS



G. Marshall Wilson

The Rt. Rev. Bishop A. Sims, bishop of the First Episcopal District, is host to the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church to be held May 3 to 16 at the Arena, Forty-Sixth and Market streets, Philadelphia.



Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church, at Sixth street below Pine, organized in 1787 by Richard Allen.



# Philadelphia Youth Councils Active

By Martha S. Wright

**T**HE urge of the human animal toward freedom is being pressed on battlefields by young men from every land; the same drive is felt on the home front by the young people who want to live freely at peace.

The Youth Councils of the Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in keeping with the principles of the mother association, are working toward the period of reconstruction that will follow the war. These young people know that the changes in human relationships, brought about by the proximity of the races on the battlefronts and at home in the war plants, will need careful and intelligent leadership if the zeal with which the war is being fought is to be directed into channels of peace. They hope to be able to meet the challenges of the post-war era with strength and conviction.

They know, too, that men in the armed forces cannot be left with the burden of the peace, for they are driven by a natural desire for revenge after seeing their buddies die; statesmen and diplomats have proved themselves unworthy of the trust because of the evidence of their selfish and narrow nationalism; not even the groups and organizations, for their indifference is largely responsible for the national and international catastrophe. Whom then can be trusted with the peace?

Youth's answer is: "We, the coming generation of citizens, must prepare ourselves now for the leadership the world will need in the next ten or twenty years." These young people believe that if guided by a desire for better understanding of one's self and others, the spirit of love permeating the hearts of people will be the solution in establishing a just and lasting peace.

## October Conference

At the October Youth Conference held at Lincoln University, Oxford, Pa., a definite plan of action was drawn-up, whereby the delegates could return to their respective college or communities with a blueprint of the year's work.

Among the fields of endeavor these leaders of tomorrow set up was the fight for the passage of a Federal bill to aid education in the poorer states, with funds to be distributed without consideration of color, creed or national origin; also the development of personal interest in changing the racial ideas and

## *The Philadelphia youth councils are active in the fight for national and international justice*

concepts expressed in newspapers and books, over the radio and in movies.

Further, they determined to teach and practice the processes of voting. To stimulate a feeling of responsibility among those with the right of franchise and the desire for it among those who are denied the privilege.

The role of labor in the economic security of the coming world was stressed and realized by these young people, for they pledged themselves to cooperation with, and support of, the labor movement in their communities. Attention was drawn to the integration of the Negro into organized labor.

By writing letters to their congressmen they hope to secure the passage of civil liberties bills in Washington.

The abolition of discrimination in the armed forces and in the American Red Cross was another of the aims of the conference.

To further the effort of the war and to insure jobs for returning servicemen, the conference decided to fight for permanent legislation of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Other aims of the young people include the struggle for the freeing of subject peoples of the world and the formulation of a definite program in the job training and job security for youth regardless of race, color or creed.

## Council Activities

During 1943 the Philadelphia youth councils of the NAACP solicited funds for the Victory Servicemen's Canteen and its members served as hostesses. They also observed National History Week and National Sharecroppers Week.

The West Philadelphia branch held conferences with managers of the F. W. Woolworth 5-and-10 cent stores in regard to placing Negro girls in the West Philadelphia stores. When the request was turned down, a picket line was thrown around the stores.

At another meeting of the West Philadelphia youth council it considered plans for forming a corporation whereby Negroes may start in business with the proper financial backing.

In addition to its regular forums, held the first Sunday of each month, Rev. William J. Harvey III, pastor of Penn Memorial

Church, is conducting a series of Negro history classes on the third Tuesday of each month.

Odell Stukes is president of this branch, and the members include, Beatrice Wooding, Julia Mae Woodling, Emory J. Saunders, of USMS; Daniel Waddy, George Johnson, Sylvia Watson, Lois Curry, William Clay, Channie Wilson, Phylliss Morris, Ester Jordan, Mildred Morris, Clarence Eaton, Christine Eaton, Curtis George, Earl Lockwood, Barbara Hewlitt, Jane Hewlitt, Hazel Buchanan, Gladys Johnson, Helen Downs and Arthur Lee, sponsor. Christine Eaton and William Clay, Jr., comprise the press and publicity staff.

The oldest Philadelphia youth council, named for the treasurer of the NAACP, Mary White Ovington, is headed by Willie Williams.

The war project of the branch is the Elates' Servicemen's Canteen, at Broad and South streets. Many of the members are hostesses. A music-comedy, "Canteen Capers," was presented recently at the canteen for the servicemen.

## 400 In Armed Services

Although many of its 400 members are now in the armed services the group continues many of its regular projects and is considering introducing new ones. Toys are collected at Christmas to be distributed among poor children and those in homes and hospitals who otherwise would be forgotten.

Miss Phylliss Graham directress of the canteen, served for two years as state youth director of the State Leaders Council of the NAACP.

The other officers of the Mary White Ovington branch are: Vera Lawrence, recording secretary, and Olga Gordon, treasurer.

Among the activities of the Germantown youth council, headed by Mrs. Machere Tresville, are the Negro history classes, sending delegates to the youth conferences, obtaining memberships in the national body and subscriptions to the *Crisis*; dances, pledges to the fight against discrimination on the transportation system and investigation of neighborhood theatres for jim crow practices.

Its officers are: Leonard Miller, president; Geneva Lassiter, vice-president; Mozelle Lester, secretary and Mrs. Tresville, treasurer.

Although most of its forty-five members

are of high-school age, the council plans entertainments for servicemen and is active in all the campaigns put on by the NAACP.

The State Leaders Council held a meeting in March at the Christian Street branch of the YMCA at which plans for raising funds and for the work of the youth councils in the fourth-coming membership drive were discussed.

In her address at the opening meeting of the Lincoln Conference Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, principal speaker, told the young people that "the love of ones' fellow men to the extent of true democracy is not implied in one's willingness to die for the ideal, but rather the desire to live out the realities of the material practice of the ideals."

The work of the youth groups seem to testify to the belief of these youths in this ideal, that though they are now called by their government to fight, and some to die, for the ideal of true democracy, those left at home will insure the future freedom of those who will return from the battlefields.

## Interracial Organizations in Philadelphia

(Continued from page 146)

Rosemont, and St. Josephs.

Officers of the council are members of the various colleges, each of which has its own interracial study group and operates independently of the others. Every other month the councils hold a public meeting with outstanding members from all groups as principal speakers.

The fundamental aim of this organization, which was founded in 1937 by the Rev. M. McKeon, S.J., is to make students aware of their responsibilities to the community in general and the Negro's problems and work. Graduates of the colleges are sent out to visit colored homes, to learn from association, the practicability of the theories learned in school.

Teachers devote lecture periods to the study of the specific teachings of the church on justice and charity to all mankind, and to the accomplishments of colored people. Cultural and literary contributions of the Negro race are studied and each college maintains in its library books and articles written by colored authors. This Catholic group has not been afraid to lift its voice in support of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices and in behalf of non-discriminatory employment on the city's transit system.

Re-education of adults, who have strayed from the precepts of their youth to assume the false attitudes of superiority, is being undertaken by the West Philadelphia Interracial Forum headed by Mrs. Anna M. McGarry. The aim of this forum is also to create better racial understanding through contact and discussions.

Comprised of approximately twenty-five

members ranging in age from the early twenties to the late fifties, the Forum in which Mrs. Helen Pinkett and William Bruce are among the oldest and most active members, was established in April 1937 by Father William J. Walsh of St. Ignatius Church and Mrs. Margaret Killian.

Last July 4 the group donated \$100 worth of equipment and games to the Mill Creek Playground at Forty-seventh and Brown streets, and a like amount to St. Ignatius for their children's picnic members have worked with the NAACP during the controversy about admitting colored to the housing projects and have contributed financially to the fight against discriminatory practices of the Philadelphia Transportation Company in the employment and upgrading of Negroes.

### City Interracial Committee

In its work with all civic groups, the City-Wide Interracial Committee, headed by Jacob Billikopf—long a friend of the NAACP—strives to "activate an immediate program to abate or suppress the caustic factors involved in the racial tensions now prevalent in the Philadelphia area and to see that justice and equality of opportunity is accorded to all the people of Philadelphia, regardless of race, color, or creed."

Since its organization last August, the committee has cooperated with the Board of Health in the venereal disease program, assisted in carrying on the work of the East Central Housing Committee, and aided in easing the racial tension in the Tacony area. Through repeated appeals to the Zoning Commission, the committee was able to secure additional housing inspectors. They have also drawn up a factual report giving concrete evidence of the discrimination employed in appointing city and county employees.

The committee of fifty-five represents a cross-section of community life, who are endeavoring to bring a practical improvement in basic conditions that will represent a definite step towards the relief of racial tensions, employment of minorities, better conditions in housing, school relations, welfare, health, and recreation, plus added law and order.

### New Action Committee

The United Peoples Action Committee, which boasts a membership of one hundred and fifty persons, twenty-five per cent of whom are white, was founded in the fall of 1943 by Arthur Huff Fausett.

Functioning as an organization of action rather than words, the committee is comprised of organizations and individuals who believe wholeheartedly in democracy and are willing to fight to make it a reality. Under the leadership of Fausett, the Rev. E. Luther Cunningham, vice-chairman; and Elsie Smith, secretary; the committee operates as a "peoples front organization" fighting discrimination in all phases.

Plans for a program handling problems

confronting servicemen and their families are now being formulated. The UPAC, as it is commonly called, was an active participant in the fight against the discriminatory practices employed by the Philadelphia Transportation Company in employing and upgrading colored.

### New Liberal School

Although not specifically an organization dedicated to fighting interracial ills, The Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art must of necessity be included, because at this school white and colored students, all striving for common knowledge, are proving that democracy can work.

This new institution sets out to answer "the many perplexing questions" which adult people are asking today. With this educational need in mind a distinguished advisory board has been assembled. Among them are: Raymond Pace Alexander, Esq., Rabbi J. Gerson Brenner, Dr. K. A. C. Elliott, Prof. Mildred Fairchild, Arthur Huff Fausett, The Rev. Hoggard, The Rev. William H. Jeffrys, Jr., Francis Fisher Kane, and Rev. J. A. MacCallum, Thomas Nabried, Wesley Reedy, E. Washington Rhodes, Paul Robeson, and Professor Thomas Woody.

Instructors at the school, which was organized by Dr. Alban Winspear of the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago, are noted professors, scientists, trade union leaders, government experts and civic authorities.

"The Negro in American Life," is one of the most popular courses in the school. Guest lecturers in the course include such figures as Alan R. Freelon, artist; E. Washington Rhodes, editor, and Alain LeRoy Locke, philosopher; Miss Ekie E. Smith as chairman of the course. This course, which has both Negro and white students enrolled, is typical of the work that the school is doing. Among other courses, are "American Foreign Policy," Music Appreciation, "Latin America and Mexico."

One specialty is the Children's Art Class held on Saturday mornings. More than 800 students were enrolled in the school's winter session.

Basic purpose of the school, according to Mrs. Esther M. Segal, is to "bring the kind of education to the people that will help to win the war and the peace."

The Interracial Discussion Group believes its first duty is to promote the spread of information, discussion, and amicable race relations in one's own block, and neighborhood. It encourages neighborhood discussion groups and occasionally sponsors mass meetings, in addition to regular weekly forums. It is the offspring of Joseph M. Gorelik.

Organized labor is represented in all the groups mentioned above, but in the labor unions themselves leaders and members are working out their own new and clearer pattern of interracial understanding through working together, playing together, picketing together, and learning together.

# James Weldon Johnson Homes

By Prince L. Edwoods

**T**HE name of the eminent poet, diplomat, author and secretary of the NAACP lives on in Philadelphia in the first public housing project of the Philadelphia Housing Authority—the James Weldon Johnson Homes—built on fifteen and one-half acres at a cost of \$3,210,000

The loan contract was awarded on September 14, 1938. The ground was broken on May 15, 1939. The first tenants were accepted on October 1, 1940. On February 12, 1941, the last vacant dwelling was rented.

The project was opened in a neighborhood that was run down and where several notorious gangs had once operated. The boundaries are 25th street, Ridge avenue, Glenwood avenue and Norris, Page, and Stillman streets. There are 589 dwelling units. One hundred ninety-six are three-room units, twenty-two are six-room units and seven are seven-room units. Five hundred sixty-eight families are colored and twenty-one families are white. Those families live together in harmony. Their attitude is friendly and neighborly.

In the beginning, a workshop was set up in the Community Building with teachers to encourage tenants in the reconditioning of

## *A project in successful community living and how it was achieved*

old furniture. Later, the workshop was discontinued because the majority of families bought new furniture. The project families stopped attending the classes.

Whereas, there was considerable vandalism before our families moved into the project, the destruction of property has almost disappeared. Fifty windows were broken on Hallowe'en night of 1940 before the families lived in the houses. On the same dates of 1941 and 1942, two windows were broken.

## **Buildings Modern**

The buildings are fire-proof and modern. The foundations are concrete. The floors are concrete hardened with fluo-silicate. The stairs and lath are steel. There are eighteen coal-fire, automatically stoked hot water boilers located in nine boiler rooms. All of the tenants are supplied with shades, garbage receptacles recessed in the walls in front and large rubbish pails for trash. The single dwellings have private back yards with iron

fences. Each dwelling has a separate entrance. The storage basements are joint. There are sixty-two buildings. One of the buildings is called a Community Building. It houses the management's offices, recreation rooms, library and auditorium.

There are five play areas. Two of the areas are equipped with swings, sliding boards, see-saws, and the play area for smaller children has in it a sand-box. Last summer hundreds of children from the surrounding neighborhood and the project played on those areas away from the hazard of city traffic. We also used a baseball diamond at 24th and Diamond streets for our three baseball teams. Some of our boys were taken to swimming classes at the Wissahickon Boys Club at Germantown. Half dozen boys were sent to Camp Emlen through the generosity of a member of the Philadelphia Housing Authority.

## **Community Activities**

The community activities were organized soon after the project was filled. It was my duty to interview each of the families when the James Weldon Johnson Homes opened in October, 1940. I studied every folder and noted the educational qualifications, experience, and family composition of the applicants. During the interviews I inquired from the most promising, "Would you be interested in helping us without community activities?" The result was that we secured tenant leadership for one of the play areas, the Literary, Men's and Homemakers' Club. The Community League, with a representative from each of the buildings, was also organized by tenants with a graduate of Pennsylvania State College the unanimous choice for president.

The Homemakers and Literary Clubs assisted with all the early activities. A newspaper, the *Voice*, was organized in 1940 and the editor, Mrs. Malachi, was a tenant. She covered the entire project with house to house visits for news. A staff was finally obtained with several outstanding writers who received commendation from our Washington (national) office for their good work. The managers took personal interest in all of the clubs and groups.

The Girl Scout troops were next introduced. A physician's wife brought the first troop here in 1941 and another sprang up from the extra girls who were interested in scout work. A Boy Scout troop was started



*Perennial favorite of children, a game of ring-around-the-rosy is enjoyed by these youngsters in the playground at the James Weldon Johnson Homes of Philadelphia.*



in 1942 by a tenant. The library was organized by a volunteer worker who was the daughter of an A. M. E. presiding elder. Vocational guidance came through the assistance of the Armstrong Association in 1942. The manager in 1940 organized the Project Police. This was an organization of teen-age boys who picked up paper on the grounds, cautioned trespassers off the grass, and acted as couriers for the management office.

In 1941, the NYA sent several young college graduates who organized a Sub-Debs Club and the hot lunch project under direction and guidance of their own supervisors. The hot lunch project was the outstanding activity with a peak daily attendance of 115 undernourished children who were sent from the nearby elementary schools. Later WPA began to send leaders and co-ordinators. Then music classes, a chorus and a pre-school were added to the list.

The NYA, WPA and volunteer teachers were vital factors in the organization and maintenance of our community activities. It would seem, however, from a careful study of the two and a half year period that the project has been opened that the tenants have made the largest contribution toward the organization of community activities. The agencies have carried on the work in an efficient and praiseworthy manner. In addition, as soon as paid workers began to handle classes and clubs, many of the tenant volunteers have lost interest.

After Pearl Harbor, an extensive civilian defense group was organized. Seventeen persons had studied at Dobbins Vocational School to become air raid wardens. As a result, one headquarters and six posts were opened in the various sections of the project. Then in the spring of 1941, the James Weldon Johnson Homes was set up as a separate sector with its own sector wardens and 118 air raid wardens, auxiliary policemen, auxiliary firemen and first aid teachers.

During the first year, only eight families moved out of the project.

### Rent Payments

The payment of rent is average. Collection losses during the first year were less than 19 ten-thousands of one per cent. In 1942, we collected every rent. At the present time we have collected most of the rents for March, 1944, with the exception of families who have given good reason for not paying and who have been granted extensions.

The Philadelphia Housing Authority increased the rents last October in order to keep from putting out hundreds of families who had secured employment in the defense industries. Because of their new employment, the income of those families were far above the maximum limits. Then the rents were increased and the families were permitted to remain. There was some agitation against this increase, but only four of the five hundred eighty-nine families moved from the

## TABLOID EDITOR



*Ralph H. Jones, one of those "old Philadelphians," having been born in the city of brotherly love. He is editor of the Philadelphia INDEPENDENT, local tabloid newspaper.*

project and one of those families bought a house.

We give considerable time and thought toward maintaining the best possible relationship with children as soon as they are able to talk and walk. Ours is not a hit-and-miss plan. An illustrated story telling hour; pictures and books in the library for children of all ages; a pre-school which is conducted by resident mothers; and, free passes to the movies are some of the methods that are used to cement our friendships with the youngsters.

### Home Furnishings

Many of the homes are attractively furnished. They are kept clean and the tenants have community pride that is admirable and contagious. Some of the pride was stimulated through the meetings that were held in the spring of 1941. At that time, their attentions were called to the advantages of living in new, modern homes. In addition, the surrounding area, with the exception of Ridge avenue, shows evidence of neighborhood betterment. The houses and fences have been painted. The residents have cleaned up their residences and yards. While there is still considerable room for improvement, nevertheless, there is a decided change for

the better. Furthermore, a good class of families has bought homes in the community, including two ministers and two physicians.

Two churches have appointed members to ring door bells and to request the families to help improve that section of northwest Philadelphia in the vicinity of the project.

Finally, it is our aim to manage the project in such a way that it will be an economic success. We give prompt service to requests for repairs and we strive to keep maintenance costs at a minimum. We offer educational, recreational, and social activities through the aid of the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, YWCA, Civilian Defense, Volunteer Teachers, Resident Mothers' Club and numerous other co-operating organizations. In return we insist upon prompt payment or rent and proper maintenance of homes, yards and household equipment. It is our belief that there has been an improvement in children and adults during the past three and one-half years.

It is our opinion, too, that the children and adults who live at the James Weldon Johnson Homes will eventually constitute a community which will more than repay the Government and the Philadelphia Housing Authority for the original investment of money and time that have been made in their interest. Here, too, we believe is the kind of living, meaningful memorial that James Weldon Johnson himself would approve.

## Pyramid Club Members NAACP

Philadelphia's Pyramid Club—which reputedly owns one of the most attractively furnished clubhouses in the country—is unique in an important respect. So far as is known, it is the only important social organization which makes it mandatory that every member also be a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Pyramid Club has 350 members, representing a cross section of Philadelphia, and owns a plant that cannot now be rebuilt even for \$50,000. Located at 1517 Girard avenue, the clubhouse has reception rooms, meeting rooms, a dining room, a membership lounge, and plans are on foot for an auditorium addition.

Every year the club presents a musical festival, an art exhibit, and a series of significant lectures. It also gives a yearly award to a citizen who has done constructive service to the community. Dr. Walter F. Jerriek is president of the club. Among its directors are Dr. Harry J. Greene, Dr. Charles W. Dorsey, and Attorney Theodore O. Spaulding.

It is also unique that all the club's financing was done through the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, in order that, come what may, the property would remain in the hands of Negroes. Now the club is debt free, having burned its mortgage last New Year's Eve, seven years ahead of time. Now all its business is done on a pay as you go basis.

**Subscribe to The Crisis for  
your loved ones overseas.**

## THE CHURCH OF RICHARD ALLEN

By J. Winsmore Mason  
Pastor—Allen A. M. E. Church



*Bishop Richard Allen, founder and first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which is holding its National Convention in Philadelphia during the month of May.*

THE African Methodist Episcopal Church was the outgrowth of a movement started as a protest against what might religiously be termed unholy practices within the confines of St. Georges Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of Philadelphia. An attempt to establish or enforce segregation in the services of worship resulted in the withdrawal of the Negroes from the church, and organization of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

It was in the year 1787, just eleven years after the colonies severed their relationship from England and within four blocks of the site where the Liberty Bell tolled the advent of freedom, that Richard Allen and his followers started this cause which was to be one of the greatest movements in the history of the American Negro.

There was prevalent a spirit of independence among all peoples, growing out of the Revolutionary War and the signing of the Declaration of Independence. This spirit called for striking out on one's own for freedom. The A. M. E. Church was the answer—one of the answers.

Through the intervening years the African Methodist Episcopal Church has not ceased to stand out as an advocate for racial betterment and a powerful factor in all movements for good, which is seen in the growth of the church today.

Richard Allen and his compatriots set the standard and whether the problem be social, economic or religious, the church has fur-

nished a courageous leadership with vision and faith to persevere in every time of crisis.

The Thirty-Second Quadrennial Session of the African Methodist Episcopal Church will be held in Philadelphia this year during the month of May. From every section of the country there will be in attendance persons from every walk of life as delegates, thus offering a cross-section of opinion as to the vital issues of the time in which we live.

Probably at no time in the 157 years of its history has the church been confronted with issues as grave as are facing civilization today. The church is called upon to extend its borders beyond the spiritual and consider remedies for the moral and social let-down which is attributed to the present conflict.

The broad missionary program of the church extends into Africa, the isles of the sea, South America, and these foreign fields are looking to the home base for aid and guidance to meet whatever may be the problems in their immediate area.

It is expected that the church will, as it has always done, give to the world a new and broader vision of brotherhood and clearer understanding of the meaning of its motto "God our Father, Christ our Redeemer and Man our Brother."

The First Episcopal District of the A. M. E. Church, presided over by the Rt. Rev. David H. Sims, is host to the 1944 General Conference. Sessions will be held at the Arena, 46th and Market streets, Philadelphia, Pa., beginning May 3.



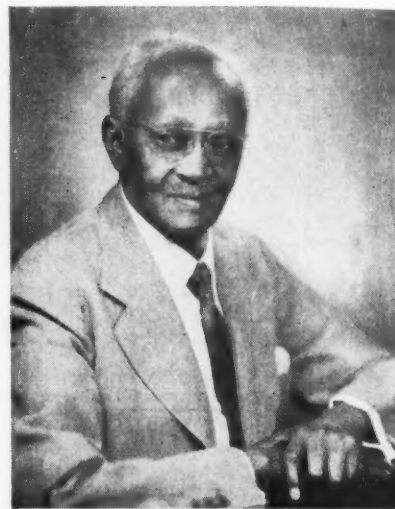
*The Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and Training School, 16th and Lombard streets, Philadelphia.*

**Join the Philadelphia branch  
of the NAACP.**

## Philadelphia's "First Citizen"

By Martha S. Wright

TO MANY people Philadelphia's "First Citizen" is a spry little man of more than eighty, who heads the only Negro-owned and operated bank north of the Mason



*Photo by Bachrach*

*Major Richard Robert Wright, president of the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company, 19th and South streets, Philadelphia, has risen from the lowly estate of slavery to the heights of social and educational attainments.*

and Dixon Line.

Born Richard Robert Wright, of slave parents on a plantation in a small town in Georgia, he has risen to the heights by sheer grit and tenacity. When ten years old he once told General O. O. Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau to tell our friends in the north, "We's risin'."

Major Wright, he gained his title as an army paymaster in the Spanish-American War, has let his every endeavor be guided by this principle.

He fulfilled his mother's desire for him by finishing school and receiving his bachelor's and master's degree from Atlanta University. After which he taught foreign languages.

Coming to Philadelphia where his son was established, in 1921, he studied banking at the University of Pennsylvania for a year and, when most men retire, he organized the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company at 19th and South streets.

With his insatiable desire for knowledge, he took further courses at Harvard University, the University of Chicago, and at Oxford. He also holds the LL.D. from Wilberforce University.

Although at first the bank met with great opposition, its original capital of \$15,000 has increased manifold and its resources have reached \$2,000,000.

Citizens and Southern was one of the few banks in the country to survive the depression and the first local bank to reopen after the

(Continued on page 163)

# Negro Martyrs Are Needed

By Chester B. Himes

**M**ARTYRS are needed to create incidents. Incidents are needed to create revolutions. Revolutions are needed to create progress.

These are the tactics devised by the peoples of the world who wanted freedom. No one has ever proved or denied that these are the best tactics to employ for the attainment of this end; it has been proved that these are the only tactics to bring about such attainment.

The American Colonials were not the first to recognize the singularity of these tactics, but they were the first to use them effectively for the benefit of a large number of people. Since the American Revolution they have become the ABC's of political advancement throughout the world. The first and fundamental convictions of the political tactician fighting for the human rights of the people are: (1) Progress can be brought about only by revolution; (2) Revolutions can only be started by incidents; (3) Incidents can be created only by martyrs.

Of all the oppressed groups of people in the world today, racial, religious, and political, the thirteen million Negro Americans are the only group who have not yet employed these tactics in some manner or other in their quest for democratic equality. This is one of the strangest conditions of history. No serious unbiased scholar will deny that the Negro Americans have been the most oppressed minority group in the world for the past three hundred and twenty-three years. But yet no intelligent politician will deny that there is no other manner in which Negro Americans can release themselves from this oppression.

Let us consider then what a Negro American revolution will be and what it will do.

First I must point out the possible ways of existence for all people. There are only three:

(1) *Wherein every one is free.* As of today, citizens of the communist-dominated socialist state of the U.S.S.R. have come closest to this goal. However, it does not matter whether the structure of the government is communistic, socialistic, or democratic; this is the most preferable way of existence for the majority of the people of the world.

(2) *Wherein a ruling class or race is free.* This is the point to which citizens of the United States of America and of the British Empire have advanced. Outwardly, this would seem preferable to the ruling class or race. But the fallacy of that is that this is not a fixed stage of existence; it is a pivot of change. The ruling class or race must share

*Contrary to the opinion of the late Ulrich B. Phillips Negroes are not "by racial quality submissive" as the many slave revolts attest. In this article our author argues brilliantly for revolution and leaders in the tradition of Gabriel and Nat Turner*

their freedom with every one in order to preserve it; or they must give it up.

(3) *Wherein no one is free.* Loosely we may say that this comprises dictatorships and imperialistic nations, especially if they are at this time our enemies. It is generally agreed that less than one-tenth of one per cent of the people of the world prefer this way of existence; so we may state for point of argument that no one prefers it.

## Aim of Revolution

There can be only one (I repeat: *Only one*) aim of a revolution by Negro Americans: That is the *enforcement of the Constitution of the United States*. At this writing no one has yet devised a better way of existence than contained in the Constitution. *Therefore Negro Americans could not revolt for any other reason.* This is what a Negro American revolution will be: A revolution by a racial minority for the enforcement of the democratic laws already in existence.

What will a revolution by Negro Americans do:

(1) Bring about the overthrow of our present form of government and the creation of a communistic state. A communist organization of immense proportions already exists in this nation.

"I therefore defined," Engles wrote, "the objects of Communists in this way: (1) To achieve the interests of the proletariat in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie; (2) To do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement by community of goods; (3) To recognize no means of carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force."

It is obvious that the Communist Party of America will attempt to direct any revolution, whether by Negro Americans or any other group, to the accomplishment of these aims. It is equally obvious that in any nation where great numbers of people are op-

1. Marx-Engles *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 1-2.

pressed the communists have fair chances of success.

(3) Bring about the overthrow of our present form of government and the creation of a dictatorship.

The first reaction of the people who are endeavoring to continue the existence of white supremacy in all its vicious destructiveness will be to stamp out this revolution with a maximum of violence and a minimum of mercy. Many Negroes will be shot. Many will be imprisoned. The remainder will be literally enslaved. *If these people are successful.*

But what is more to be feared in the historic progress of the human race: *At this pivot of change where we now exist we will cease to go forward and go back.* Law, order, decency, all the democratic principles which we have so far developed in this nation will be destroyed. The white race will become barbarians. The darker races slaves.

When people become barbarians they can no longer govern themselves. They respect only might. The strongest, the most deadly, most vicious, most cunning, most murderous, will become the ruler. He will rule as long as he is feared.

(3) It may be successful and bring about the enforcement of the Constitution, democratic equality, and the acceptance of the democratic way of existence by all of the citizens of our nation.

For this to happen it will be necessary that the majority of the people of the United States believe in democracy and will join with us in bringing about its establishment. In this event a Negro American revolution will cease to be a revolution and become a movement of the people to stamp out injustices, inequalities, and violations of our laws. The people who would try to prohibit the people from so doing would become rebels, traitors, secessionists, and would be dealt with accordingly.

If the majority of the people of the United States do not believe in democracy as the best way of existence, we will not achieve democratic equality in any event. So we are forced to begin our thinking here; we have no other point from which to begin.

## Martyrs Needed

At this point Negro martyrs are needed. The martyr to create the incident which will mobilize the forces of justice and carry us forward from the pivot of change to a way of existence wherein every one is free.

It is obvious that we can not stay here;

(Continued on page 174)



# "Whatsoever Things Are Lovely"

By Florence McDowell

SATURDAY afternoon was on Seventh avenue. Lavinia Randall recognized the signs. Down on Eighth avenue she had done her marketing just as a shower was ending. Then, with her yams and corn-meal and pork-chops and coffee and okra, she had hurried through the narrow cross-street that was cluttered with children and crap-games. On Seventh avenue it was easier to move and breathe. And perhaps there she could find a clue or catch an idea for what she must soon be doing.

Surely there was more beauty on Seventh avenue than on any other street in Harlem. Where else could one feel the space that let her spread out inside? Where else could one see trees marching up the center? Her biology teacher had told her that they were Chinese plane trees. Lavinia liked the balls that hung like toy fruit or grace-notes after the leaves had given up, and she liked the rich brown and gray bark with its undergarment of cream and yellow. If she were walking on Morningside avenue, she could get close to such trees and sniff the bitter, teasing odor of the bark while it was still wet from the rain. Now the leaves were new with May. Those Seventh avenue plane trees did bring something to Harlem—more than could have been foreseen when they were planted.

On this day there were always more people sauntering or loitering in clusters. The usual swarm was in front of the movie theatre. Barber shops and beauty parlors had plenty of customers. Lavinia had once written a theme on "Kinks." It seemed queer that while hair was being uncurled down here, kinks should be crimped and set and baked just above Morningside Park—all at the same time, on Saturday afternoon.

She shied away from the pale, unwholesome man, like a potato-sprout, who was trying to sell "reefers" and from a pack of women and girls whose blatant slacks and suspenders matched their insolence and their insinuations.

It was a relief to look at some men in uniform. They knew how to carry themselves, these young Negroes, and there was dignity in their faces. Some day she'd like to marry a man like that and have four children. One would sing like Marian Anderson, one would be a doctor, one would build houses entirely unlike Harlem houses, and one would be a policeman who couldn't even think of letting graft come near him.

Here was a man dealing out handbills. She knew what they would contain—bait for

## *The story of a girl who finds loveliness even in her environment*

the kind of Negroes who are so sick of all that is that they are ready to risk anything that isn't.

There, one block east, was the church that always made her look up. The steeple insisted that there was something above it. And, sure enough, although most of the sky was still clouded, over that steeple was a scrap of blue in which a gull was a white airplane.

Too soon she must turn off into her own dirty block. On the corner was the gang of slouching hoodlums who could snatch a handbag when they were not shooting craps or making trouble in some other way. Only night before last they had beaten up a soldier who was walking through the block. He was still in the hospital with a fractured skull. One of the ruffians had said, "We ain' a goin' teh have any eh them uniform squares a comin' aroun' here, 'cause ef they do, then the girls they won' pay us no mind."

Stoops, steps, and pavement were covered with children of all sizes. Boys were playing "stick ball," and she had to dodge as she passed. Here were garbage cans still unemptied and piles of refuse that must wait until the unsoiled portions of the city could be regroomed.

Before going into her house she would do what had been proved helpful. Tucking her bags under her arm, she took from her pocket a handkerchief and held it over her face. Never could she get used to the smell of that hallway and those stairs—a smell that was made up of so many bad smells that one tried not to inhale or think. She always went very fast up the steep steps and down the dark little corridor that led to her home.

Inside that door she would find cleanliness that had been won and kept, but at what a price! When they had first tried to reconcile themselves to that flat, they had agreed that they would stay only until they could get out of debt. That was just after her father had broken his leg, when her mother's wages in the millinery shop were all they had, for the slim insurance could not last long. Now that her father was back in his job on night shift, her mother was in the hospital mending after an operation. Lavinia had thought that she should seek work and gain her diploma in evening school, but both parents

had said that since she was a senior, she must go on. They would wiggle through somehow, and some day they would be out of debt and away from smells. They had seen the model flats (*Paradise Found* they should be called). Some day—!

She would slip in quietly, for her father was still sleeping. About four she would give him his dinner. Early that morning she had cleaned the bedroom so that it would be ready for him, and later she had cleaned the kitchen and the room that was living-room and dining-room for the family and bedroom for her. Tomorrow her mother would be coming home, and she would find things as she had left them, as decent as soap and water and disinfectants could make them.

But there was something to be done at once, and she must turn to her task. She must sit by the window and try to discover what she was almost sure was not there to be discovered.

She had been glad to remain in school for several reasons, but one of the weightiest was Miss Palmer, her English teacher. Miss Palmer was young and invigorating, with black hair that she didn't try to kink. Her blue eyes had lashes that were like black petals, and her skin was like the inside of the seashell that Lavinia had picked up on her one excursion to the sea. Miss Palmer rode horseback and played tennis when she could get away from English papers. Air from out-of-doors seemed to come in with her, to be a part of her. Being in her class meant more than learning punctuation and grammar or any facts. One felt that this person really lived, that she had roots through which she could draw what was needed for herself and others. And she gave it. She made Lavinia feel that life could be interesting and rewarding, even for a Negro girl in Harlem.

Miss Palmer had commended Lavinia's work and had told her that she had ability in writing. Several of her poems would be in the school magazine, and one of her stories was to be entered in a national contest for high school pupils. Some day she might write what many would read.

The night after that revelation Lavinia had forgotten that her bed-spring sagged and squeaked and that neighbors were swearing and fighting. She had sat up in the bed and had written down in her notebook lines and thoughts that gurgled up. Seeing the light through the cracks about the door, her mother had come in with, "What's the matter, Hon-

(Continued on page 172)

# The Task for the Future\*

By Saville R. Davis

*This article vividly discusses some of the racial problems which will face Negroes and whites in their attempts at mutual adjustment in the postwar world*

I HAVE just one, simple point to make tonight. Put in a few sentences, it is this: a hundred years ago, my abolitionist ancestors here in Boston, together with yours, had to go through a terrible civil war in order to free the slaves. But today, the prospect is vastly brighter. Our task, this time, is to complete the economic and social liberation of the colored people. In some ways, it is a task even more obstinate than that in which Garrison and his friends in Boston enlisted, because your economic and social freedom is inextricably bound up with the whole broad problem of freeing the economically underprivileged, everywhere. But this time, with a little care and statesmanship, the job can be done without the fire and pestilence of civil war. This time, there is a great tide of social and economic ferment in the world which is sweeping your way. The war, or rather the forces back of it, are liberalizing the world with a speed which we scarcely yet realize. This time, you don't have to fight against the current of the times. The current and the times now are working with you.

This is not just a theoretical matter. It has the most immediate, practical importance.

## Direction Determines Strategy

The strategy that you or I choose to follow in each particular interracial negotiation here in Boston this coming year—whether it be discrimination in some housing unit or factory or in local army matters—or whatever—depends on the direction in which we are heading. If we think violence is unavoidable, then both sides will maneuver accordingly. There will be goading, needling, provocative remarks, deep suspicion of every maneuver on the other side, tempers will shorten, incidents flare up perilously.

If on the other hand, we feel the situation is still under control, is still capable of solving by our collective reason and intelligence, if we believe there is enough good will to overbalance the bad faith which too often is present, then we still can bring both parties together by skillful effort. We can still sit down in the same committee rooms, around the same table, state our differences and find the least common denominator of agreement, and hammer out programs of action which have a chance of succeeding.

That's why it is exceedingly important to

know where we are heading. If it is toward violence, then the Civil War could repeat itself, this time on an international scale, with India and China and Russia taking sides. If it is toward peaceful solution, then we can chalk up a great victory for this century. But the one unpardonable crime, for which history would not spare us, would be to degenerate into violence when we already had a peaceable victory within our grasp. Nothing could be more blasphemous than a futile war.

I don't think this will happen. As a newspaperman and reporter, I believe, as I have said, that the times are favoring the fuller liberation of the Negro—bringing it on at a rate we scarcely yet comprehend.

I realize that anyone who stands before you and takes an optimistic position in this way, must explain himself. The massed array of discriminations which confront you, here in Boston as well as in the South, look like anything but moderation and optimism. You have a right to a high impatience with society.

## Reasons for Optimism

But my purpose here is not to advise or counsel moderation or anything else, nor do I speak as a member of any particular race. My purpose is to present to you, as a reporter, facts and an analysis of the present trends to show that both Negroes and whites are even now acting with a restraint and statesmanship which are remarkable for these troubled times. And that in spite of all the obstructions ahead, the outlook for action today is better than we dared hope, as recently as a decade ago.

I speak of action. Please let me say that I don't want to appear here as a certain kind of liberal who uses fine sounding words to cover up the fact that he shrinks from action. Someone defined that kind of liberal, once, by saying that he raises doubt and indecision to the level of a principle. Another offered this definition: a liberal is a man who has got both feet firmly planted in the air. If I can offer my own definition, I would say that that kind of liberal will

ride into the millenium on the caboose. As for me, I would rather be up front, stoking the boiler. But seriously, let's take a fresh angle of perspective on the present by turning for a moment to the past.

## Historical Review

Let me go back to the days of the abolitionists, the heroic days when men of Boston helped set a nation on fire. These men marched their words and phrases like regiments and battalions down the decades leading to 1861. William Lloyd Garrison himself was a man of merciless tongue and scorching pen; a fanatic on the subject of liberty; a man whose emotions burned at such white heat that all men of softer fibre feared and hated him. He lashed and stung his enemies without ceasing; but we have proof from his words that he knew and calculated what he was doing—that he knew every incident gave more publicity to the cause he cherished and roused more people out of their lethargy with respect to slavery. His colleague, Samuel May, once protested: "Mr. Garrison, you are too excited; you are on fire." And the man's reply was at once the key to his personal character and to his place in history. "I have need to be on fire," he said, "for I have icebergs around me to melt." And Margaret Fuller echoed the same idea. "The nation was deaf to the evils of slavery," she said, "and those who speak to the deaf have to speak in a very high key."

It is notable that in the end, Garrison brought the more sober liberals of his time around to the point where they supported him, in spite of the icebergs of opposition among the more conservative sections of the community. They were a noble company: Wendell Phillips, John Greenleaf Whittier, Ellis Loring, Charles Francis Adams—Amory Phelps, Bronson Alcott, Richard Henry Dana, Samuel Sewall—Emerson, Thoreau, James Russell Lowell, Theodore Parker, William Ellery Channing—a magnificent company of men with a sublime intolerance of the slave idea, and the courage to attack it without quarter. So the intolerance was not alone that of Garrison who said that for him, "passion is reason." These men felt that attack offered the only chance of success in those times when slavery in all its form and configuration was so deeply entrenched.

The leaders of these men were fighters as Sam Adams of Boston had been, half a century before. They felt that they could not

\* A speech delivered at the annual meeting of the NAACP in New England Mutual Hall, Boston, Mass., February 18, 1944.

make any allowance for inertia, for blunder, for the slow pace of progress, but they must spread their crusade, if need be, with fire and sword. And of necessity, their words caused limitless, expanding bitterness. Studying the history of those times, one feels that they must have felt in their marrow that they were heading for war, that the explosion of war was inevitable. And feeling so, they adapted their strategy accordingly. The more hatred they could arouse among their enemies, the quicker a show-down could be precipitated. And so they deliberately gave provocation and gloried in the street fights around the Boston jail or over the cobbles outside Faneuil Hall, and in meetings in the dark of night at Crispus Attucks' tomb. In liberal terms, they cursed the Constitution for its compromise with slavery in those days before it was amended to rectify the original mistake. As James Truslow Adams has said, "It was Garrison who galvanized the anti-slavery movement in mass and made it incendiary."

### One Phase of Work Over

So the flames came, and burned their way through the land, and when they had subsided; the emancipation proclamation was signed and one great phase of the work was done. But it is interesting that while all the other former abolitionists were settling back in triumph, Garrison was still militant. With his last breath, he was warning that the job was not all done. And the prophetic Wendell Phillips said that real freedom was yet to be won. "The proclamation," he said, "does not annihilate the System." How well he saw into the future.

Let me quote a passage in the History of Massachusetts, by Oswald Garrison Villard, a man who, like many of the rest of us here, has abolitionist blood in his veins:

"So long as reforms are to be achieved and reformers to achieve them, there will be continuing debate as to which of two methods is the wiser; whether to use only polite phrases and by wounding no one's feelings to keep cool the tempers of all parties to a controversy, so as to make possible calm and quiet reasoning together, or whether the proper journalistic weapons are the rapier and the sledgehammer. Some historians have believed that Garrison's methods were the wrong ones; and they lay at his and Horace Greeley's doors the chief responsibility for resort to arms in 1861, because of their 'intemperate language.' The other school believes that the hour produced the right men and the right method; and that emancipation of the slaves would have been postponed for decades if the Garrison school had been less harsh and more charitable in its expressions."

Other than to quote Mr. Villard on the existence of such a debate, I won't reopen the question of whether the war had to come. I myself suspect the answer is quite simply that at that time it was historically necessary,

and let's leave it at that. We, today, may not be competent to judge these events of the last century between Abolition and the Tragic Era. But we can compare them with our trends today, and can judge whether the ultimate fury can be averted, this time.

### Healthy Situation Today

Let me give a few reasons why I think the situation is a healthy one, today.

To begin with, instead of defeatism, I find a remarkably constructive approach to racial incidents in the past year. Instead of merely protesting, people are turning to action, which is a healthy sign. Since the race riots earlier in the year, by actual count there have been more than 117 interracial committees organized, 4 national, one regional, 10 state and 102 local committees. And these figures don't include others formed in the past three months. In the majority of these cases, earnest citizens reacted to the riots by determining that they should not be repeated in their own communities. The bulk of the committees both studied the causes of the Detroit riots and drew up programs for getting at the fundamental causes of disorder in their own communities. I am glad to say we had such a meeting here in Boston. This indicates a certain resilience in present-day society, an unwillingness to lie down under the problem, which doesn't look at all like fatalism.

I receive each month a remarkable news digest of all the important racial incidents in the United States, prepared from responsible news sources and checked by the Social Science Institute at Fisk University, under the sponsorship of the Rosenwald Fund. I don't mean to say that the whole dreary routine of constant discrimination is listed; that would be impossible. I don't have time to read many newspapers, but I have subscribed to the *Afro-American* this last year, and I know for myself, from a reading of its pages, that no list would be long enough to cover these regrettable occurrences. But the Institute does select every significant incident. And I have taken the trouble to go through many pages of its news review, checking those which are constructive, hopeful developments on net balance, and those which are the contrary. I was surprised to find that a goodly majority of incidents in the period I covered were reassuring in their outcome. They presented either a decent and sane reaction on the part of whites and Negroes to some unfortunate incident, or actual steps to counteract it and discourage its recurrence.

I have noticed, too, that there is a conciliatory spirit abroad. Since your last meeting, I have had occasion to make a study and report on the editorial page in the Negro press to a national meeting of colored editors. And I could only report in amazement on the degree of civic responsibility I found in the editorials. There was a sanity, a balance,

a shrewd awareness of just when to be militant and when to speak carefully, which were reasonable all out of proportion to the ugly, riotous incidents which arose during the year, and which the editorials had to comment upon.

Another illustration. During this year, I have also sat on two committees attempting to solve a delicate problem in the relationship of Negroes and whites in the City of Boston. During this period there has been much cause for much impatience. I couldn't have quarreled with anyone involved if he had been angry and out of patience with opposing points of view. But the discussions went ahead on an even keel. Spokesmen for various viewpoints, and individual dissenters, all kept their tempers. At times I felt as if I were in a judicial atmosphere, where ideas were being weighed and measured on their own merits. This was no abolitionist bitterness. In fact, it has been said that one of the greatest causes of an ugly temper and churlish, provocative behavior is that feeling of frustration and deep resentment which goes with what is commonly called an inferiority complex. Several times during the negotiations I referred to, I had the impression that the colored representatives had a certain pity for those whites who had become tangled up in a series of discriminations directed against the colored community.

They felt very much on top of the situation. It was as if they were conferring a certain favor on the others by being decent about it. I don't mean to suggest that they relaxed any of the vigor of their point of view. There has never been more firm or insistent pressure for specific reforms than right now. But I gathered the impression that they consciously felt they were standing for a principle of equality of man which was larger than they, larger than their opponents, and which gave breadth and poise to their point of view. They joked easily, and with lively humor. These are not men who feel they must inevitably resort to violence. They seemed rather to feel that you don't have to use force if force is working for you—if there is a generating, creative force at work in these times which is awakening society to a need for action.

### Times Revolutionary

And this brings me to the chief point that I wish to make tonight. The times we live in are, in the broad, historical sense of the word, revolutionary. The change taking place under the surface of things is as great as when the mediaeval system ended and the industrial revolution came in. This long era of mechanical and technical expansion is giving way to an era of human and community expansion. We don't know the outlines of the system of the future, except that we want it to combine liberty and efficiency, so that we can still have our political freedom and yet have enough economic safe-



guards against depression and abuse so that the common peoples can have economic freedom as well.

We exist, as someone said, between two worlds—one dead and the other struggling to be born. And all over the world we can see the signs of this new birth. In Europe, my newspaper colleagues send back dispatches constantly about the new liberalism which is coming up out of the underground. They tell of a breaking up of classes and class distinctions under the melting heat of war, about a new social humanitarianism. As you well know, in India, in Africa, in Russia, in China, great races and nations of common peoples are hearing what democracy promises, and demanding that democracy make good on its pledge.

Make no mistake: we have spoken of the equality of man too many times, now, not to have our words catch up with us. There is a compulsion in the air, in the very technical circumstances of this rapidly moving world. We, as a society, can no longer afford to live with our economic sins, because they bring about things called maladjustments, saturated markets, imperfect flow of purchasing power—undramatic things, but creators of terrible depressions and deadly enemies of the system. Nor can we afford to live with our social sins any more. They cause social and political pressures which upset the whole delicate mechanism of our modern society and threaten to bring it to disaster. In times like these, we feel destiny pressing very closely upon us. We are forced to progress in spite of ourselves and our inertias.

### Postwar Problem

When this war is over, your problem—the problem of the colored man in the United States—will be on the front line of democracy. Most of us went into this war thinking that we could fight and overcome fascism. We shall do so—in a military sense. But in all the stress and the travail, we have learned many things above and beyond the military. We know, now, most of us, that victory by the sword will not of itself put an end to fascism. It will only give us an opportunity to revitalize and reestablish the democratic idea. We know, now, that fascism springs like a parasitical fungus from the decay of democracy. We cannot afford to let this decay another time. We know that when Hitler is defeated abroad, there remain the elements which could make for fascism at home. And so I say that the front line, when it ceases to be a military line in Russia, Italy and France, will become a multiple front line, a qualitative front line, found all through our society. A front line occurring for each of us as individuals at whatever place we stand on the globe's surface, coming at some point between the earthward pull of the forces of evil, and the upward thrust of the best in us, upward toward our own individual stars.

This makes for a heroic picture, when you describe it in these words. But in practice I suspect that the postwar picture will be one of great and sore confusion, here at home and in every democratic country. It is hard enough to lay aside our peaceful ways and go off to war, even to fight a war of right against wrong in some distant land. But I believe it will be harder still to root out tendencies toward the fascist mentality back at home, where the issues are not as clear. Perhaps the greatest single unlearned lesson of this war is the connection between fascism and those groups in society who are not technically fascists, but are willing to use fascism to stave off what they fear will be radical mob rule.

The issue is complex enough over in Italy, where we are trying to understand why King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio have a link to fascism, even though they never were convinced fascists themselves. It is vastly more complex back here at home, where our friends and relatives are at odds on the question of where to draw a line between what is domestic fascism and what is not. And where even within ourselves, as human individuals, we have differences between the best and the worst in us, which we don't always understand too well.

### Vision Needed

The postwar period, then, will call for all the breadth of vision that we can muster. It will be all the more important, then, to understand the basic, underlying trends in interracial affairs, that we have been discussing here, and to continue the fine balance between tolerance and impatience, wisdom and crusading fervor, caution and action, which we have notably achieved during the war.

For the whites, the lesson of the times is this: democracy is nothing if it is not dynamic. We have passed beyond the point where repression will solve the racial problem, or the economic problem beyond it. There must be persistent, continuous action to end specific discriminations and help the Negro rise to the full measure of citizenship. Otherwise there will be an explosion.

For the colored community, the lesson is this: that now is the time to press for action, and that this pressure can and should be kept within the bounds of responsible statesmanship, as it is today. Pressure up to a point is constructive; pressure beyond that point could open up unlimited violence. If we continue as we have gone this year, stepping up the tempo of reform but holding the best elements in the community together, we will be on the right track.

Boston, in the days of the abolitionists, pointed the way to emancipation through civil war. I believe, the times being with us, that Boston today can point the way to fulfilling the promise of that emancipation, to fulfilling economic and social as well as legal emancipation, through dynamic, peace-

ful adjustment in the days to come.

If the underlying current of history is with us, reason can accomplish much. There is a story they tell of Channing in this respect. He was the key moderate in Boston, at the thick of the abolitionist fight here. He represented all the doubt and indecision which can plague that point of view which we call "moderate." If Channing could be won over, abolition would then cease to be an outcast in the community.

It all came to a crisis at a conference. Channing was arguing with the abolitionists that he would not endorse their principles. They were reasoning with him, cautiously, lest they offend him. Finally, Samuel J. May lost his temper. "If these things are so," he blurted out at last, "it is your fault. You have held your peace, and the stones have cried out. If we who are obscure men, silly women, babes in knowledge, commit these errors (of rough impatience and militance) why do not men such as yourself speak, and show us the right way?"

And then, as May said later, he realized what he had done. His heart jumped into his mouth, because he was afraid he had alienated the one man whom the anti-slavery cause needed most to convert. There was a breathless, painfully long silence.

Finally, Channing said in a subdued voice and the gentlest of tones, "Brother, may I acknowledge the justice of your reproof? I have been silent too long."

It happened as quickly as that. By the force of a valid idea, Channing was won over. I hope that this spirit of the best in Boston's history can govern us here, and the nation as a whole, in the days ahead. And I trust that in the face of the discriminations remaining in our midst, the community will, in the words of Channing, "acknowledge the justice of the Negro's reproof," and will say, as Channing said, "We have been silent too long."

## First Citizen

(Continued from page 158)

national banking holiday in 1933.

Many businesses, charities and civic organizations have been kept going by its loans, and several of the city's churches have been saved from foreclosure and have realized discounts on their mortgages through his services.

Aside from his banking activities, Major Wright has fought for and won heads of famous Negroes on United States postage stamps—for the first time: Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver. He also is known for the establishment of the National Freedom Day on February 1.

His other activities include: Thirty years as president of Georgia State Industrial College; editorship of a newspaper; four times Republican delegate to the national convention; membership in the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences and the American Historical Society.

# Supreme Court Rules Out White Primaries

**I**N April the NAACP won a smashing victory when the Supreme Court upset a decision of nine years' standing and ruled that Negroes cannot be legally barred from voting in the Texas Democratic primaries. Success in this case marked the fourth time the question of the "white primary" had been before the Supreme Court.



Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the NAACP, was the able partner of Judge Hastie in arguing the Texas Primary case before the Court. Mr. Marshall is already nationally known for his series of legal victories in the various teacher-salary-equalization suits.

In 1927, the NAACP carried the case of Nixon vs. Herndon to the Court, which ruled that the state of Texas could not exclude Negroes from the primary by means of a state statute. Texas then passed a statute which gave the power to the executive committee of the Democratic party to decide who should vote in the primary, and the executive committee promptly limited the primary to "white" persons. The matter was again carried to the Supreme Court in 1932 where it was decided that this procedure was equally unlawful. The opinion, however, pointed out that the Court did not pass upon the question as to whether or not it would be lawful for the Democratic party in convention assembled to decide on who should vote in the primary. So at the next convention of the state party a resolution was passed limiting membership to "white" Democrats. In 1935 a group of interested citizens in Houston, Texas, carried the third case to the Supreme Court (*Grove vs. Townsend*). In that case the Court held that this action in excluding Negroes did not violate the Constitution.

***A major obstacle barring Negroes from the franchise in the South was swept away April 3, 1944, when the Supreme Court ruled 8 to 1 on a case arising in Texas that the "white primary" is unconstitutional***

In 1941 the Court, in *U. S. vs. Classic*, a case involving the refusal of primary election officials in Louisiana to count the ballots of certain white voters, ruled that where the primary is an integral part of the election machinery, or where the primary determines the final election, such primary is within the prohibitions of the Constitution.

In 1941, using the *Classic* case as a basis for action, NAACP lawyers filed the present case in the federal court in Houston, Texas, challenging the "white primary." At the trial it was established that the primary in Texas was an integral part of the election machinery of the state and that the Democratic primary determined the final election. It was also established that all white citizens were permitted to vote in the "Democratic" primary regardless of whether they were Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, or Independents.

The case was originally tried in Houston before Judge T. M. Kennerly, who on May 11, 1942, dismissed the case. An appeal was promptly perfected to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit and on November 30, 1942, the judgment of the lower court was affirmed. On January 21, 1943, the petition for rehearing was denied.

A petition for Writ of Certiorari was filed in the U. S. Supreme Court on April 21, 1943, and was granted on June 7, 1943. The case was argued on November 12, 1943. Thurgood Marshall and William H. Hastie appeared on behalf of the petitioner. On December 6, 1943, the Court granted the motion of the Attorney General of Texas to file a brief and to have a re-argument of the case. The case was again argued on January 12, 1944. Marshall and Hastie represented the petitioner and the Assistant Attorney General of Texas appeared for the attorney general of Texas. No brief or appearance was made by the respondents.

The decision in the Texas primary case marks the twentieth victory out of the twenty-two cases that the NAACP has taken up to the Supreme Court. One case was lost and one is now pending. The very first victory of the NAACP was in 1915 when the "grandfather clause" was outlawed.

## Majority Opinion

Justice Stanley F. Reed of Kentucky wrote the majority opinion. He summarized the Texas statutes which bear on the conduct of primary elections and pointed out that the Democratic party of Texas had been held by the Texas Supreme Court to be a "voluntary association." On May 24, 1932, the



Chairman of the National Legal Committee of the NAACP, Judge William H. Hastie, now dean of the Howard University Law School, has had a brilliant career as lawyer, judge, administrator and teacher.

Democratic party in a state convention adopted a resolution which has not since been amended, abrogated, annulled or avoided, which provides that "All white citizens of the state who are qualified to vote under the Constitution and laws of the state shall be eligible to membership in the Democratic party and, as such, entitled to participate in its deliberations." It was this resolution which barred Negroes from the "white primaries" and hence from voting.

Justice Reed said that Texas is free to conduct her elections and limit her electors as she may deem wise "save only as her action may be affected by the prohibitions of the United States Constitution or in conflict with powers delegated to and exercised by the National Government." He pointed out that the Fourteenth Amendment forbids a state from making or enforcing any law which abridges the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; and that the Fifteenth Amendment prohibits any denial or abridgement by a state of the right of citizens to vote on account of color. Justice Reed then traced the history of the litigation relat-

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ing to the white primary in the Supreme Court.

Summing up, Justice Reed said: "The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any state because of race. This grant to the people of the opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election. Constitutional rights would be of little value if they could be thus indirectly denied. The privilege of membership in a party may be . . . no concern of a state. But when, as here, that privilege is also the essential qualification for voting in a primary to select nominees for a general election, the state makes the action of the party the action of the state."

### Roberts Dissents

Justice Owen J. Roberts of Philadelphia wrote a dissenting opinion. Justice Roberts traced the history of the white primary litigation in the Supreme Court, and said that *Grovey vs. Townsend* received the attention and consideration which the questions involved therein demanded, and that the opinion in that case represented the views of all the justices. He said that the present decision "tends to bring adjudications of this tribunal into the same class as a restricted railroad ticket, good for this day and train only. I have no assurance, in view of current decision, that the opinion announced today may not shortly be repudiated and overruled by Justices who deem they have new light on the subject."

He also said that there were sharp differences between the election laws of Louisiana, which were considered in the *Classic* case, and those of Texas; for the Louisiana statutes required the primary to be conducted by state officials and made the primary a state election, while under the Texas statute the primary is a party election conducted at the expense of members of the party and by officials chosen by the party.

A careful examination of Justice Roberts' dissent shows that he really did not dissent to the decision so much, since he offered no lengthy legal argument, as he did to the Court's overruling of its previous decision, which Roberts himself wrote, in *Grovey vs. Townsend*. The Court is not bound by past decisions, though it must give them weight, and it has long been accepted practice for the Court to re-examine the basis of constitutional decisions where "correction depends upon amendment and not upon legislative action." Though complaining about the sudden reversal of the Court, Justice Roberts has himself overruled Justice Roberts and reversed the Supreme Court in previous decisions. Here is Justice Owen J. Roberts vs. Justice Owen J. Roberts:

Madden vs. Kentucky, overruling Colgate

vs. Harvey, Justice Roberts dissenting; Helvering vs. Hallock, overruling Helvering vs. St. Louis Union Trust Co. and Becker vs. St. Louis Union Trust Co., Justice Roberts dissenting; Nye vs. U. S., overruling Toledo Newspaper Co., Justice Roberts dissenting; State Tax Commission vs. Aldrich, overruling First National Bank vs. Maine, Justice Roberts dissenting; and Board of Education vs. Barnette, overruling Minersville School District vs. Gobitis, Justice Roberts dissenting. Between June 1, 1936, when the Court held minimum wage laws unconstitutional, and March 29, 1937, when it held them constitutional, Justice Roberts changed his mind. And his change of mind also helped to defeat the President's court plan.

The language of the decision seems to imply that barring a person from a primary election on account of color or race is a deprivation of a constitutional right, regardless of how that result is achieved. On the other hand, Justice Reed speaks, in the opinion, of the statutory system for the selection of party nominees in Texas and points out that the statutory system makes the party, which is required to follow legislative directions, an agency of the state; that the party takes its character as a state agency from the duties imposed upon it by state statutes; that the state made the privilege of membership in a party the essential qualification for voting in the primary, and that this, therefore, constituted state action.

### Southern Opinion

Southern editorial opinion on the Court's decision varied from the vitriolic demand of the Charleston, S. C., *News and Courier* that the primaries be abolished to "keep state inhabitable for decent whites" to the outspokenly sane demand of the Richmond, Va., *Times-Dispatch* that Negroes be allowed to participate in the primaries. Papers on a whole hailed the decision, but Frederick Sullens, fiery editor of the Jackson, Miss., *Daily News*, declared: "The United States Supreme Court rules that Negroes can vote in party primaries—including Democratic primaries. They can't in Mississippi. The Supreme Court may think so, but it is quite wrong, insofar as Democratic primary elections in Mississippi are concerned. If anybody doubts that, let 'em try."

Following up its decisive victory before the Supreme Court in the primary case, the NAACP called upon Attorney General Francis Biddle "to issue definite instructions to all U. S. attorneys . . . to take action in each instance of the refusal to permit qualified Negro electors to vote in primary elections. . . . We are such that the Department will recognize that criminal jurisdiction over interference with the right to vote because of color extends to primary elections."

"Now that there can be no doubt that such exclusion is a federal crime, we urge you to issue definite instructions to all United States Attorneys, pointing out to them the

effect of these decisions and further instructing them to take definite action in each instance of the refusal to permit qualified Negro electors to vote in primary elections in states coming within the purview of the two decisions. We also suggest that this fact be made known by the Department of Justice directly or through the states now practicing the policy of refusing to permit qualified Negroes to vote in primary elections.

"The precedent having been established, we now urge the United States Department of Justice to enforce the criminal statutes of the United States and to prosecute vigorously persons who deny to others rights guaranteed under the Constitution and laws of the United States, especially the right to vote."

The letter was signed by Thurgood Marshall and William H. Hastie.

### Church Has Triple Mortgage Burning

By Ruth Rolan

It is still news when a church burns a mortgage—so it is thrice news when one church burns three mortgages on three pieces of property at the same time. This is what the 70-year-old Allen AME church, 17th and Bainbridge street, Philadelphia, did recently.

Accomplished through the pay-as-you-go business methods of its pastor, the Rev. J. Winsmore Mason, the congregation cleared \$3,900 mortgage held against the church itself; \$1,200 on a residential property owned by the church at 2128 Carpenter street, and \$1,200 on the parsonage at 2003 Bainbridge street. This three-way clearance erased all of Allen's indebtedness for the first time since the church's creation in 1873.

The Carpenter street property was bequeathed to the church by Dr. William A. Sinclair, one of the charter members of the Philadelphia NAACP and a national board member.

### Negro Youth in City YMCA's

*Negro Youth in City YMCA's*, a study of Y services among Negro youth in urban communities, gives an accurate picture of "the availability and distribution of typical services of the YMCA among Negro youth through recognized branches and otherwise." This self-study is one of a series of "self-studies" made by the YMCA on its 100th anniversary regarding policies and practices which will enable it to do a better job in the future.

### Negro Appointed Nursing Service Staff

The first Negro nurse to be appointed to the Nursing Service staff at national headquarters of the American Red Cross is Mrs. Marion B. Seymour, who will be released for a six-months' period beginning May 15 by Freedmen's Hospital, Washington, D. C., where she is assistant director of nurses.



## Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront



St. Louis branch Pancas 1944.

**WAR DEPARTMENT ADMITS 9TH AND 10TH CALVARY NOW SERVICE UNITS:** In a letter to Roy Wilkins, John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, included copy of a letter to Senator Robert A. Taft in which it was explained that the 9th and 10th Calvary units—although not designated by name—have been used “to provide certain additional service units to meet early requirements of the highest importance.” In explaining the conversion of the famous old fighting regiments into service troops Mr. McCloy wrote to Senator Taft:

“Unfortunately currently constituted service units were all committed to definite tasks. They could not be withdrawn from these tasks without seriously interfering with planned operations, and the short time available for the organization and training of the needed units made it imperative to utilize previously trained personnel. It was found that the only available source for such personnel was certain uncommitted combat units, including the Second Cavalry Division.

“As mentioned previously, the military situation demanded that trained personnel in considerable numbers be made immediately available. Since the Second Cavalry Division was the only source from which such personnel could be withdrawn without delaying the war effort, the War Department was compelled to effect this change in its utilization. Needless to say, the decision would necessarily have been the same had this Division been composed of white personnel.”

The 9th and 10th formed part of the Second Cavalry Division which had been training in Ft. Clark, Texas.

**DR. DREW WINS 29TH SPINGARN MEDAL:** Dr. Charles R. Drew, professor of surgery at the Howard University college of medicine, has been awarded the 29th Spingarn Medal for 1943.

Dr. Drew was given the coveted medal because of his outstanding work in blood plasma. Dr. Drew set up and ran the blood plasma bank in the Presbyterian Hospital in New York City which served as one of the models for the wide-spread system of blood banks now in operation for the American Red Cross.

Early in the war when it was decided by the Blood Transfusion Association to investigate the possibility of aiding the Allies by shipping plasma to Europe, a committee was selected consisting of Dr. E. H. L. Corwin, Dr. Scudder, and Dr. Drew to draw up plans whereby his project might be carried out. This plan was about to go into effect as a means of aiding the French, but France fell so rapidly that this project never came into being. On October 1, 1940, Dr. Drew was appointed full-time Medical Director of the plasma project for Great Britain with the job of solving the many technical problems which had arisen in this first great experiment in the gross production of human plasma. As a final report at the end of this project a very complete summary of the organizational, technical and medical problems that arose in this work was written. This report was published and served as a guide for the later developments in the United States for the U. S. Army and also for the armies of our allies.

When it was decided by the American

Red Cross to set up blood donor stations with the idea of collecting blood plasma for the American Armed forces, Dr. Drew was appointed as the first director and set up the first collection unit with full-time people in contra-distinction to the largely volunteer help used in the project for Great Britain. When the project had been successfully running for three months, Dr. Drew resigned to go to Washington to take the Chair of Surgery at Howard University.

In connection with the segregation of blood plasma, Dr. Drew made the following statement in 1942: “I feel the recent ruling of the United States Army and Navy regarding the refusal of colored blood donors is an indefensible one from any point of view. As you know, there is no scientific basis for the separation of the bloods of different races except on the basis of the individual blood types or groups.”

Dr. Drew received his A.B. from Amherst College in 1926, his M.D. and Master of Surgery at McGill University, 1933, Doctor of Science in Medicine in Columbia University, 1940. He was a member of Alpha Omega Alpha at McGill University. He was Externe-Interne, Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal; General Rotating Internship, Montreal General Hospital, 1933-34; Resident in Medicine, Montreal General Hospital, 1934-35; Diplomate of the National Board of Medical Examiners, 1934; Instructor in Pathology, Howard University College of Medicine, 1935-36; Assistant in Surgery, Howard University, Resident in Surgery, Freeman's Hospital, 1936-37; Instructor in Surgery, Howard University and Assistant Surgeon, Freed-

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men's Hospital, 1937-38; General Education Board Fellow in Surgery, Columbia University, 1938-40; Resident in Surgery, Presbyterian Hospital, 1940; Assistant Professor of Surgery, Howard University and Surgeon, Freedman's Hospital, 1940-41.

He was granted a leave of absence in September, 1940, to be medical supervisor of the blood plasma division of the Blood Transfusion Association in charge of collection of blood plasma for the British Army. He was also director of the American Red Cross blood bank, New York City, February, 1941; Assistant Director of Blood Procurement for the National Research Council in charge of collection of blood for use by the United States Army and Navy; certified by the American Board of Surgery at Johns Hopkins Hospital, April, 1941; Chief Surgeon at Freedman's Hospital and Professor of Surgery, Howard University, October, 1941.

MRS. ROOSEVELT, SUMNER WELLES SPONSOR NAACP DRIVE: Spearheading sponsorship of the coast-to-coast NAACP membership campaign during May and June will be such national figures as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State, Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, Judge William H. Hastie, and Walter Wagner, film producer.

Other sponsors include Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University; Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. William Lloyd Imes, president of Knoxville College; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, R. O'Hara Lanier of Hampton, Miss Mary White Ovington, a founder and treasurer of the NAACP; Lewis Gannett, book editor, *New York Herald-Tribune*; Lillian Smith, editor, *South Today*; Dorothy Norman, columnist, *New York Post*; Margaret Webster, stage producer of "Othello;" Roscoe Dunjee, Carter Wesley, John Sengstacke, Charlotta Bass; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. E. Stanley Jones, Edwin Embree, Bishop J. A. Gregg, Bishop W. J. Walls, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Sr.; R. J. Thomas, president United Automobile Workers, CIO; E. George Payne, New York University; Arthur Garfield Hays, Max Kapp, Truman K. Gibson, Sr., president Liberty Life Insurance Co.; Judges Jane Bolin, Anna Kross and scores more.

OVERSEAS SOLDIER ASKS IF BILBO IS SUPPORTING HITLER: The plan of Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi to send all American Negroes back to Africa has aroused the ire of a Negro staff sergeant on duty with an outfit located in England. Writing a remarkably frank letter to the NAACP Sergeant X stated:

"We are Negro Americans fighting for the cause to let each man, regardless of race or color, have his freedom. There is no constitutional law which says that Negroes should be deported to Africa.

"We are citizens of the United States of America. America is our home. We have just as much right to live in America as the honorable Senator Bilbo, or any of his followers. However, if he or any of his fol-

lowers is tired of America, I would suggest that he take his belongings and go to his own Fatherland, which, I don't believe is the United States of America.

"We are in the armed forces to fight for the rights of all men—not to destroy the rights. We will continue to fight even if we have to shed blood in America.

"We are doing our utmost in search of the long sought for 'freedom.' We are highly insulted when such things as these happen. We want freedom, that's what we are fighting for and that is what we will continue to fight for.

"These things will soon lead to a great catastrophe. These things will not make a peaceful United States but a place of civil wars and strife. We are tired of wars but more energy can always be found to ward off the enemy.

"Are we fighting for race superiority or democracy? Other than disturbance between the two races, what is the honorable Senator Bilbo doing to defeat Hitler and other Nazi parties? Is Senator Bilbo supporting Hitler or President Roosevelt? Is Senator Bilbo trying to stir up a civil war while there is a world war going on?"

## Branch News

CALIFORNIA: The regular March meeting of the San Jose branch was addressed by Mathew Crawford, assistant director of the California CIO minorities committee, on the subject of poll tax repeal and the 1944 elections.

John Ward, president of the Bakersfield branch was one of the speakers at the 8th round table meeting of the Inter-Cultural Council of Bakersfield.

DELAWARE: Incomplete returns from the membership drive of the Wilmington branch show that this branch now has 1,933 members. The three highest membership teams were those of Isaac Thornton, Mrs. Elsie Fleming, and John Redmond.

The closing meeting in the Kent-Sussex membership drive was addressed by Theodore Spaulding, lawyer and president of the Philadelphia branch. This branch now has more than 500 members in the two counties.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: With campaign collections topping \$11,300 the week ended March 31, the D. C. branch moved steadily toward its goal of 10,000 members. More than 7,600 members have enrolled since February 13 according to Eugene Davidson, chairman of the membership committee.

Senator Bilbo's speeches in March on race relations drew criticism from the D. C. branch when its president Rev. Arthur D. Gray urged upon the U. S. Senate the immediate removal of Senator Bilbo from his post as Chairman of the Senate District Committee.

Judge William H. Hastie, vice-president of

the branch, was one of the speakers in the Miner Teachers College symposium on civic action.

MICHIGAN: "Cancellation of war contracts ought to be closely examined before handing the government-built, tax-financed plants back to private management," said Gloster B. Current, executive secretary of the Detroit branch in an address on Men's Day at the Community Baptist church. Current pointed out that sixty to sixty-five per cent of war work is under government contractual relationships.

Current also announced that his branch intended to press charges against patrolmen Albert Tinnette who is charged with striking 16-year-old Joseph Perry Suttles and inflicting serious head injuries.

The membership goal of the Detroit branch, according to its president, Dr. James J. McClendon, has been set by the executive board at 25,000 members. The membership drive will be under the direction of Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary. Plans for the membership campaign were drawn up by a committee headed by Samuel C. Gibbons.

NEW JERSEY: A delegation from the Lakewood branch recently appeared before the local board of education to request the use of the former Fulton avenue school as a recreation center. The delegation was headed by Rev. John W. Griffin.

The membership goal of the branch of the Oranges has been set at 1,000 members. Mrs. E. Brown and Mrs. Manning were named co-chairmen of the 1,000 members. Mrs. E. Brown and Mrs. Manning were named co-chairmen of the drive committee in their respective municipalities.

The Montclair branch announces that it has obtained 1,000 new members. John H. Armstrong was campaign manager.

NEW MEXICO: The Albuquerque branch protested the action of the Bernalillo county community council for segregated entertainment for high school youth. "Heads of the youth council of the branch were advised that any Negro youth who participated in, gave his or her approval to, or became party to any segregated or special Negro-night set-up would be branding himself the second-class citizen that the set-up implies. . . ."

NEW YORK: Some 200 persons attended the banquet sponsored by the Hillburn branch March 3 at the Villa Lafayette in Spring Valley. The occasion also launched the membership drive to be conducted throughout the county. Among the speakers were Thurgood Marshall, Dr. Bella V. Dodd, Benjamin Fuller, and Benjamin Davis.

NORTH CAROLINA: The Raleigh branch opened its 1944 membership campaign, under the direction of Mrs. N. P. Frazer, with a special educational program March 5 at the Martin Street Baptist church.

The High Point branch boosted the city-wide clean up campaign launched in March.

Members of the Henderson branch gave

hearty endorsement at their regular March meeting to the venereal disease program of Vance county, launched recently.

**OHIO:** The Dayton branch has opened permanent headquarters at 1038 W. Fifth street. Organized in 1922, the branch has grown from its initial 122 to more than 2,000 members. Headquarters are open daily from 2 to 7 p. m. for public inspection and advice. Officers are T. P. Turner, president; W. D. McLoud, vice-president; Mrs. Miley O. Williamson, executive secretary; Ora Kelly, assistant secretary; and Oliver Robinson, treasurer.

Announcement has been made by Dr. N. K. Christopher, president of the Cleveland branch, of the appointment of a legal defense committee with Judge Perry B. Jackson as chairman. Judge Jackson issued a statement urging all who have matters that should be brought before the committee to contact the following members: Perry B. Jackson, chairman; Chester K. Gillespie, Augustus Parker, Ardelia Bradley, Charles White, Harold T. Gassaway, Fred Crayton, and William B. Saunders.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** The Beaver Valley branch held its regular meeting March 7 in the annex of the Second Baptist church, Rochester. The principal speaker was Francis A. Farmer.

The Lancaster branch was host for the branches of Reading, Coatesville, York, Harrisburg, and other interested organizations at the Regional Interracial Conference of South-eastern Pennsylvania, March 26, at the Crispus Attucks Center. On the Conference theme "Juvenile Delinquency" the speakers were Jordon Ewell, assistant probation officer, Harrisburg; Miss Helen C. Doty, executive secretary Community Service Association, Lancaster; Mrs. Violet Hill Whyte, city policewoman; Miss Agnes Ferriter, city policewoman; and Miss Emily N. Bartlett, director extension department, Sleight Farm School for Girls, Philadelphia.

Theodore Spaulding, president of the Philadelphia branch, sends the following item: Alexander Powell Dumas of Philadelphia had served for six years prior to 1934 as a non-commissioner officer in the 428th Infantry, and since that time as an administrator of the Universal Life Insurance Co., Memphis, Tenn. Recently classified 1-A, he indicated a preference for the Navy and made application as a supply officer. He passed the physical, educational, and vocational experience tests with flying colors. Requested to submit two letters of recommendation, the final requirement, these letters were delivered by Dumas. On March 4 Dumas received a communication from the Procurement Department, dated March 3, stating: "We indicated that your application would be carefully reviewed by one of our senior officers. . . . This has been done and we regret that we cannot recommend you . . . because there is at present no Navy billet which can utilize your experience and qualifications."

## DAYTON YOUTH COUNCIL



Dayton, Ohio, youth council members.

**TENNESSEE:** The Knoxville branch broke records in its recent membership drive. The goal was 2,000 but the total enrolled might exceed 3,000.

## Youth Council News

National Negro Youth Week was observed by the 9000 members of youth councils and college chapters, from April 23 to April 29, 1944.

In an effort to direct attention to the aims, needs, achievements and potentialities of Negro youth throughout the country, Sunday services were devoted to "The Contributions of Youth to the War Effort at Home and Abroad."

During the week the question of "Youth's Needs Now and in the Post-War World" was discussed in the schools and simultaneous mass meetings publicizing the "NAACP—Spearhead of Democracy" were held on Friday, April 28. Tags were sold during the period and the nation-wide membership campaign received the kick-off from youth. The week's activities closed with entertainment features celebrating the 35th Anniversary of the NAACP.

**PENINSULA YOUTH COUNCIL, SAN MATEO, CALIFORNIA:** At recent meetings Miss Arthumae Haley, council president discussed "The Treatment of Negro Service Men Everywhere"; Sidney Staton, Jr., talked on "Britain and the Dark People" and Mrs. Ruth Close, executive secretary of the San Mateo Tuberculosis and Health Association, stressed the need for more active interest in the community health program. A plan for community improvement has been submitted by the

group to the San Mateo Committee on Post War Planning.

**LONG BRANCH, N. J.:** Jim crowism was the subject of discussion at a forum held by the council in the month of March. The speakers, all students of the Long Branch senior high school were Miss Juanita Reeves, Miss Gladys Calloway, and Miss Delores Roger, all members of the youth council and Miss Beverley Weinstein and Miss Mary Jane Thomey, guest speakers.

**DETROIT, MICHIGAN:** The youth council moved at its March meeting to support John R. Williams in his fight to secure Negro employment at the Gratiot and St. Antoine branch of the Detroit bank. Members of the youth council, deeply concerned over the discriminatory policy carried out by the bank, volunteered to join other picketers to picket the bank in April.

Besides supporting the bank issue, the council is conducting a huge membership campaign to get 1,000 new members. Miss Elizabeth Edmondson, chairman of the membership committee, reports that the drive is having a tremendous success.

**PORT CHESTER, N. Y.:** A truth or consequences program was held in May by the youth council.

**COLUMBIA, S. C.:** The regular monthly meeting of the council was held at Bishop's Memorial AME church. Harold R. Bouleware was the speaker.

**WASHINGTON, D. C.:** Earl J. Amedee, youth council president, attended a conference of the National Committee for a permanent FEPC; during National Negro History Week he spoke at St. Vincent De Paul Church on the subject of "What the NAACP has meant to the progress of the Negro in America"; he also attended the 7th annual youth assembly of the YMCA which was held March 10-12, 1944.



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## Book Review

### SHAKING THE MAGNOLIAS

***Strange Fruit*, A novel. By Lillian Smith. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1944. 371pp. \$2.75.**

Common sense insists that there is no such thing as a perfect novel or perfection in any other field of art. The most that men's creative efforts can achieve is an approach toward, an approximation of, perfection. In Lillian Smith's poignant novel, *Strange Fruit*, there must be some small defects somewhere, at least a few minute flaws; but this reviewer cannot point to a single one.

There are inconsistencies in the story, of course, and there are contradictions; but they are the inconsistencies and contradictions one finds in the area of life the author portrays. If the story were without those faults it would be a less faithful verisimilitude of Southern life.

A casual reader, the type of reader whose main interest in fiction is plot, will see in Miss Smith's novel merely the story of the frustrated love of a refined and sensitive colored girl and an idealistic white man. This, of course, is simply an old Romeo-Juliette theme, with the respective races of the lovers taking the places of the Montagus and Capulets. But *Strange Fruit* is far more significant, vastly more comprehensive in its scope, than a tragic love story.

The essence of the novel, in fact, is not involved in the misfortune of the luckless lovers. The story would be just as tragic if they had departed for some civilized place where they could enjoy the honorable fulfillment of their passion. It is the whole life of the town that is tragic, the whole community where a pattern of prejudice lays a blight on every normal impulse, every wholesome sentiment that might lead to a sensible relationship between the races.

There are numerous characters of various degrees of nobility in the story, most of them on the darker side of the color line; but hardly one whose life has not been seared and stunted by the pressure of prejudice. This is vividly illustrated by a bit of dialogue between the white boy and girl, a brother and sister, of decent inclinations.

"What would happen, Charlie," the girl asks, "if for one day here in Maxwell you and I would do the human thing? Just act human and sane and decent—for one day. Would you have the courage?"

"Let's go in," her brother replies. "You ask too many questions."

A more ghastly, but no stronger, illustration is furnished by the lynching incident. For a lynching is merely an incident in the life of the community—a kind of ritual which must be observed under certain conditions. The leading citizens of the town do not

want the lynching to happen, not because all of them are opposed to lynching as a crime—they just don't want their community to get a black eye. These leading citizens know who would have a motive for committing the murder that had excited the community. Still, only one of them makes a late and feeble effort to prevent the mob element from making a bonfire of an innocent man.

Readers of varying preferences, of course, will find delight in different aspects of the story. For this reviewer the chief distinction of the novel is not its social significance, nor its implied plea for tolerance, but its sharp and convincing delineation of character. Some of the people in the story are painted in full length portraits, some are shown in profile etchings, while others are reflected only in the memories of their surviving kinsfolk, appearing as old, worn tin-types covered with a film of dust that has become a part of the picture. All of them come to life as vividly as your face in a mirror.

One of the most impressive characters of the story—again, this is the reviewer's choice, most readers will probably decide otherwise—is Bess Anderson, with her spiritual hardihood, her feminine headaches and ironical humor. Bess is college trained, still she comes home to Maxwell and goes to work in a white woman's kitchen. To a superficial mind it might appear that she is wasting her talent. But Bess knows what it's all about and understands the difference between race pride and personal vanity. She knows that building the right personal habits into her child and standing loyally behind her husband are an important contribution to the progress of her race. For a race must be sound at the bottom as well as wise and courageous at the top.

Bess is so real, so human, that at times one interrupts the narrative to argue with her, as when she says: "Sometimes I wonder if there is something in the Negro—Ed killing, Nonnie pregnant—what's the matter with us! Is it Negro? It is Anderson? What is it? What's the matter with people like us!"

One retorts, as if she were present in the flesh, "It's the unkillable gumption of the race."

And one shares her bitter laugh when she comments on the split personality which is a common affliction of Negroes: "I'm so tired of being two people! Sometimes I get mixed up myself, and forget which one is me—Mrs. Stephenson's Bess, or mine."

One smiles with her again when she says of the white folks' revival meeting: "They've learned to do it better than we do. More efficient—more gloom to scare you with."

The white revivalist, too, is a character for the book, a not unlikable old faker who makes mockery of religion by wrapping it up in packages resembling the patent medicines in a drug store. . . . God's Specific for Men, guaranteed to make you capable and provident. Puts hair on your chest. . . . The Lord's Cordial for Women. Enhances the

femining graces. Relieves distress in those trying periods. . . . The Good Shepherd's Soothing Syrup for Children. . . .

In sharp contrast with the shoddiness of the white preacher, looms the stalwart manhood of the black Dr. Perry, who prefers to dispense his skill among his neighbors who need it most to practicing in a more prosperous community where his services would be better rewarded. The tale teems with other striking characters, including the ghosts of the heroine's mother and the hero's grandmother. They are the ruck of humanity, for the most part; some admirable, some lovable, some spiteful and mean—all of them dripping with human juices. But none of them is free, none has the courage or the strength to challenge the pattern that dwarfs and deforms their lives.

The author describes the pattern in minute detail, how it is formed, how it is kept intact. She does not denounce the pattern. Preaches no sermons. After all, it is hardly necessary to condemn cancer.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

### A Litany for Race Brotherhood

*Tune: "Finlandia" by Sibelius*

Almighty God and Father of Creation  
Who hast made all men equal in Thy sight,  
Of common blood, whate'er our race or nation,

To share the common earth and air and light,—

Lest we betray our Brotherhood, wilt Thou  
Have mercy, Father, on Thy children now!

From bars of creed and color that divide us,  
From Jealousy and selfishness and pride,  
From shedding blood to win the rights denied us,

From sins of hate for which our Saviour died,

From greed and fear, from vengeance by the sword—

Deliver us, deliver us, good Lord!

Here at Thy feet we humbly make confession:

To these, our brothers', wrongs we have been blind.

For all our share in bondage and oppression,  
For all the cruelties of all mankind

Forgive us, Father, hear thy children call.

Have mercy, Lord, have mercy on us all!

CAROLINE F. URIE

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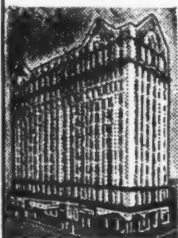
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## TIME WAS

"Hi there, Black Boy. Tote this bale  
Fetch me my slippers. Bring me that pail;  
Strain at barge ropes, cut the corn;  
Up from your pallet at the crack of dawn.  
"Yas, boss! No, boss!" Grinning and bowing,  
No rest for your body when you're done with  
your plowing.  
Whipped by the lash 'til the blood ran like  
rain,  
Salt in your wounds 'til you screamed with  
pain.  
Brown-bodied wenches swinging with grace  
Bearing the bastards of the white man's race.  
"Nigger do this, and Nigger do that,"  
Kicked and cuffed at the drop of a hat.  
Crying for freedom in the still of the night  
Chanting your songs of deliverance and right.  
"Bears with us, Lord, through the weal and  
the woe."  
Over and over—"Let my people go."

## TIME IS

Broken, black bodies swinging from the trees,  
Left in the sun for the buzzards to feed  
Slimy with pitch, and feathered like a bird  
All he ever wanted was one kind word.  
Riding on Jim Crow down through the  
South:  
Dasn't say a word, nor open his mouth.  
Dasn't even sleep in a white man's bed—  
Unless you are a woman. Yet the river runs  
red  
With the blood of the black boy fighting the  
wars,  
Bayoneted and blasted, score upon score.  
Yet, inch by inch and bit by bit,  
You've pushed the bars down with patience  
and grit.  
You've come a long way from your shackles  
and chains;  
The tree has born fruit and is budding again.  
Doctors, lawyers, writers to please;  
Butchers, bakers, laborers—all these  
Are but the fledglings of a task half done,  
But still you must fight for your place in  
the sun.  
"Bear with us, Lord, through the weal and  
the woe."  
Over and over—"Let my people go."

## TIME SHALL BE

Oh, thou Negro, stand tall and straight;  
Get rid of your petty jealousy—the hate  
That burns in your bones like a hidden fire.  
Let this be your urge—"Your race to inspire."  
Yours in the vintage of an African sun  
With the sweat and brawn of a job well done.  
Time will be when with the white brother  
You'll walk side by side in spite of your color.  
Rung by rung, heedless of the cry.  
"Get back, Negro. You can't get by!"  
Rung by rung, 'til your burden you'll drop  
Climbing and stretching 'til you've reached  
the top.  
Then the full-throated cry like a voice from  
the past:  
"Thank Gawd amighty! Free at last."

VIVIAN E. LEWIS

## INSPIRATION

The day has brought me pain, the breeze is  
chill,  
You cloud doth glower upon the still, sad  
earth,  
But thou, oh lark, from yonder distant hill  
Dost come to pierce the gloom with gladdest  
mirth.  
I deemed thy love the sunshine and the  
flowers,  
Thy joys the inspiration of thy song,  
But now, when I'm alone thru rain-gray hours  
Thou'st come to teach me all my deeming  
wrong.  
My deeming wrong? but then perhaps thy  
praise  
Swells from a store of treasured ecstasy,  
Or dost thou sing to mock these sad todays,  
Expectant of joy that is to be?  
Oh, bird of hope! thine errand is done well—  
To chide a cringing soul with silver song,  
I'll cheat my fate, I have the world to tell  
My heart is glad, for thou hast made me  
strong!

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## Whatsoever Things Are Lovely

(Continued from page 160)

ey? Can't you sleep?"

Lavinia had hesitated. Then she had repeated Miss Palmer's words. The wonderful thing about having a real mother is that she can be told what one couldn't tell other people without sounding conceited. This mother had hugged her girl and had said, "Lavinia, if you can truly write some day, I'll be the proudest woman that ever tried to put a hat on anybody's head." They had laughed together, and then her mother had said, "Let's sing a little bit—just low—so we won't bother anyone. Then we can get to sleep. Don't forget that morning's just around the corner." And they had sung very softly "Goin' Home."

Now at her window she was trying to see what Miss Palmer had asked the class to see—something beautiful. "Whatsoever things are lovely"—write about them." That was the assignment. But the lovely things were to be observed from one's own window. "No, this is not an exercise in truth-telling," Miss Palmer had explained, "but you will do better work if you stick to what you really see." And Lavinia would play the game if she could.

From their rear apartment she was gazing into the long, cramped area. If it were winter, there might be some hope, for when snow fell like popcorn, even that sordid spot had its brief moment of transfiguration.

She was looking out upon windows and fire-escapes that were jammed with everything that ought not to be in a window or on a fire escape: mops, milk bottles, wads of clothing, beer-bottles, pails, tin cans, empty flower-crocks, dish-pans, cartons, old newspapers, brooms, shoes, pillows, police dogs, soiled bedding, jars of food, an old mattress that told too much—the catalogue might equal one of Walt Whitman's. Strutting back and forth were clothes-lines drooping under dejected garments that could furnish another weary review. All were limp, for they had been in two showers. The second was just ceasing. How could anyone wish clothing or bedding to be out in the rain?

Below, on what should have been grass or cement, were mounds of rubbish and filth in which rats grew hardy and nourished fleas. Three live cats and one dead one were visible. Once a dead man had lain there for a whole morning. A list of what was down there would rival the recipe for the witches' brew in "Macbeth." Yes, and more was coming, for another installment of garbage was being thrown down. If only an ailanthus tree, the patron saint of city courtyards, had braved this wretched hole! But there was none. Where was loveliness? Could Miss Palmer or St. Paul, with his shining words, find it here?

And the sounds! Although the neighbors were not in evidence, their voices were.

Voices that might have been like velvet, the heritage of the race, had lost their native quality and were shrill and raucous. Nagg-ing, screaming and cursing, they banged against her ears, while dogs barked and babies cried. Enough of that!

Her father had told her that pitying oneself was like eating poison, but she did feel sorry for herself. Why did she have to live in such a place? Why did such squalor have to be? Why couldn't that area be cleaned up and kept clean? Why couldn't people who liked cleanliness and beauty live with flowers and sunshine and quiet? She was honestly trying to find one thing that was not unattractive or repellant, and she was losing.

She was about to give up. This would mean failure on Monday, but she couldn't help it. Then something happened.

The disgusting mattress was on the fire-escape across from Lavinia. In front of it protruded a piece of sheet iron that she had not noticed. Kerosene had been used liberally, and the iron had caught and retained some of it.

The kerosene was there because of a diseased mattress, but now it was associating with water brought by the showers and with the mystery of light rays. The result was a miracle—colors! There they were: clear violet and indigo; strange greens; gingerbread yellow and coppery orange; and, instead of triumphant red, purple and a darkened rose-violet. No, these were not the rainbow colors of the sky as Lavinia had once seen them, free, keen, and joyous. Here were deeper, mingled tones, for water and light had come down to earth.

## LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

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East Chicago (Direct mail to  
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- Policies in force: 2,808,414
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## Negro Martyrs Needed

(Continued from page 159)

we've got to go somewhere. If we can not of our own accord go forward, we will against our will be pushed backward.

The first step backward is riots. Riots are not revolutions. In the best sense revolutions are the renunciation of the existing evils of government by the governed. Revolutions are not necessarily brought about by force of arms. *They may be successfully accomplished by the manifest will of the people.* In the event of a Negro American revolution it is to be hoped there will be no shooting.

Riots are tumultuous disturbances of the public peace by unlawful assemblies of three or more persons in the execution of private objects—such as race hatreds. No matter who passes the first blow or fires the first shot, riots between white and black occur for only one reason: *Negro Americans are firmly convinced that they have no access to any physical protection which they do not provide for themselves.* It is a well-known and established fact that this conviction is rooted in history: *Negroes in fact do not have any protection from physical injury inflicted by whites other than that which they provide themselves.*

It is a rather deadly joke among Negroes (especially since the Detroit riots) that the first thing to do in case of a race riot is not to call the police but to shoot them. . . . "Man, what you mean call the police; them the people gonna kill you. . . ."

White citizens who believe in democracy (and white citizens who do not believe in democracy but do not want to have race riots) can stop race riots whenever and wherever they occur by simply appearing on the scene and making it apparent to the white persons thus engaged that they do not approve. The reason for this is obvious: White persons who incite and engage in race riots are in a minority, but *they are firmly convinced that the majority of white people morally support their actions.* As a consequence most Negro Americans clearly realize that the white citizens who stay at home and remain quiet during riots are morally as guilty as those who wield the clubs and fire the guns.

Negro martyrs are need to assemble these white citizens who believe in democracy and stay at home; and to inspire them to fight for their beliefs.

### Martyrs Rare

It is necessary that such a Negro martyr be a person of integrity who loves freedom enough to make any sacrifice to attain it. Preferably, he should be a Negro leader, a person reasonably intelligent by the accepted standards, one who is well-known to Negro and White Americans alike and who can not be ignored by either white or Negro media of news distribution. He must be a Negro who

will not compromise, and who does not mind embarrassing his white liberal friends who believe sincerely that "adaptation" or "evolution" is the best policy for Negroes to follow. And, of course, he must be a Negro who will not sell out. Therefore we must get our lanterns.

He must be solidly supported by the Negro middle class for there is no Negro leader solidly supported by the Negro lower class. Not only should he be solidly supported by this group, but so identified with them as to make it impossible for them to abandon him.

It is apparent that the Negro middle class must be out in front in any Negro American revolution, so this must be fixed in mind, and further reasoning must go forward from it. *The Negro middle class must accept the responsibility for the successful culmination of any Negro attempt for democratic equality.*

Therefore it is of singular importance that members of this group be able to recognize democratic equality when it comes, and not confuse it with social acceptance by members of other groups or races. We have not achieved equality by week-ending with our white friends and drinking their liquor or flirting with their wives. In fact, many of us who are Negro Americans wish to retain the right to choose our house guests and paramours as much as any white American.

The incident, of course, must be a denial of some right guaranteed to every citizen of the United States by the Constitution, such as the right of any decent, honest person to live wherever he chooses, or the right of a citizen to vote or serve on juries. Incidents such as an unjust accusation of rape serve no primary purpose other than to agitate or inflame and fix no constructive precedent for progress.

The martyr must make the stand and refuse to yield. The Negro middle class must come to his assistance, also refusing to yield, and must influence the Negro lower classes to follow.

What is of utmost importance is the stand. All of us Negro Americans must make the stand. And after we have made it, we must not give on any point. We must not compromise a breath. *After all, we have nothing to lose, and three preferable changes to win: 1) Democracy; 2) Communism; 3) Slavery.*

### Church Leaders Adopt Recommendations

Among the recommendations adopted by the delegates to the Sixth Annual Session of the National Conference of Church Leaders, meeting at the Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, were these: That constituent bodies act immediately in requesting adequate congressional appropriation for the FEPC; that their constituents support legislation for a permanent FEPC; that constituent bodies request that the word "colored" be removed

from clergy certificates of Negro clergymen; that the Federal Government retain control of public housing in the post-war era; and that the Federal Council of Churches of Christ "take immediate steps to provide national service that will keep the local and state councils and denominational bodies informed as to national legislation and administration."

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